CENTENNIAL HISTORY
OF
ERIE CO. N.Y.

CENTENNIAL

HISTORY OF ERIE COUNTY,

NEW YORK;

BEING ITS ANNALS FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDED EVENTS TO THE HUNDREDTH YEAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY CRISFIELD JOHNSON.

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HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA
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HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
OF IOWA

INDEX.

A.

Abbott's Corners, ...337, 355
Adams, Erasmus,..... 124
Adams, Joel,..... 123
Aigin, James,.....232, 238
Akron, ...376, 386, 426
Alden, ...184, 296, 311, 356, 363, 389
Aldrich's Mills,..... 374
Algonquins (see Hurons).
Allen, Ethan,..... 174
Allen, L. F., ...397, 402
Allen, Wm.,..... 144
American Navy, ... 240
Amherst (see Williamsville), 118, 125, 146, 171, 183, 389, 423
Ancient earthworks, etc., 20, 121, 124, 173
Anecdotes, 82, 89, 92, 117, 119, 144, 148, 151, 153, 164, 166, 168, 184, 188, 189, 191, 208, 209, 215, 230, 251, 261, 268, 275, 292, 303, 305, 309, 310, 319, 320, 326, 338, 342, 343, 362, 393, 398, 405, 407, 451
Amsdell, Abner,..... 130
Angus and King's exploit,..... 217
Anti-masonry, ...378, 385, 388, 410
Ararat,..... 366 to 370
Assembly, members of, 170, 205, 267, 300, 379, 385, 388, 394, 397, 401, 410, 412, 422, 426, 430, 447, 448, 449, 450, 452, 453, 458, 466, 479, 490, 505, 506, 507
Aurora, 123, 132, 173, 184, 297, 314, 387, 389, 411
Austin, Wm.,..... 185

B.

Babcock, G. R., 406, 408, 440, 443, 447
Bar of the county, ...342, 432
Barker, Zenas,.....130, 172, 265
Barker, G. P.,.....401, 410, 433
Barton, J. L.,..... .....308, 405
Bass, L. K.,.....504, 505, 506
Battles, skirmishes, etc., 27, 54, 55, 62, 213, 217, 230, 234, 238, 245 to 250, 281, 286, 469, 471, 474, 481, 482, 486, 491, 493, 495, 499, 500
Beaver, the ship,..... ...58, 186
Bemis, J.,.....112, 130, 152, 208, 229
Bemis, Mrs.,..... 255
Bennett, D. S., ... 505
Big Sky,..... 86
Big Tree road,..... 113
Bird, W. A., ...324, 430
Black Joe,..... 84
Black Rock, 55, 103, 178, 182, 213 to 220, 234 to 238, 246 to 250, 308, 316, 331, 341, 351, 424, 446
Boies, Wm..... 299
Boston, 119, 121, 131, 142, 175, 190, 229, 306, 316, 359 to 362, 389
Boundaries of the county,..... 9
Brant, Joseph, ...61, 75, 76
Brant, town of, ...376, 424
Breboeuf and Chaumonot,..... 25
Brown, Gen. J.,.....268 to 278, 289
Bull, Capt. J., ...235, 236, 247
Burnt Ship bay,..... 53
Buffalo (see Black Rock), 83, 98 to 100, 114, 125, 147, 152, 162, 170, 181, 193, 250 to 264, 268, 279, 292 to 296, 300, 306, 314, 322, 333, 341, 346, 350, 357, 363, to 375, 388, 434, 447
Buffalo Convention, ...437 to 439
Buffalo creek,.....15, 63, 69, 75
Buffalo Creek reservation, 93, 100, 376, 422, 428
Buffaloes,.....17, 25, 69
Buffum, Richard,..... .186, 332

C.

Canal, Erie, 301, 311, 322, 353, 357, 370 to 372, 375, 400, 434
Captain David,..... 72
Catholics,.....24, 25, 49, 386
Cary, Richard,.....131, 174
Cary, Truman, ...174, 306, 345, 422
Cary, Calvin, ... 259
Cat, nation of the (see Erie nation).
Cattaraugus creek, ...14, 64
Cattaraugus reservation,.....93, 376
Cayuga creek,.....15, 193
Cayuga Creek settlement,.....173, 357
Cazenove creek,..... . 15
Cheektowaga, ...172, 423
Chippewa, battle of,.....270 to 276
Champlin, Commodore,..... 240
Chapin, Dr. C., 116, 160, 200, 213, 216, 227, 239, 241 to 243, 245 to 254, 257, 332, 419
Cholera,..... 398
Churches and church buildings, 142, 145, 177, 180, 184, 299, 317, 333, 380, 394, 399, 400, 401, 403
Clarke, A. S., 132, 145, 161, 170, 205, 293, 300, 315
Clark, James,.....173, 192, 337, 361
Clans of the Iroquois,..... .30 to 33

Clarence, 98, 101, 106, 111, 118, 125, 133, 146, 154, 181, 183, 292, 356, 400
Cochran, Samuel,..... 174
Colden,.....186, 383, 389
Colegrove, B. H., ...332, 430
Collins (see Lodi and Gowanda), 142, 175, 188, 334, 389, 446
Colvin, Mrs , ... 122
Concord (see Springville), 143, 187, 189, 299, 334, 389
Congressmen, 179, 182, 224, 267, 293, 300, 315, 330, 354, 358, 377, 384, 388, 397, 401, 410, 422, 430, 439, 441, 447, 449, 450, 453, 458, 478, 503, 505, 506
Colby, John,.....311 to 313
Conjockety, Philip,..... .. 117
Cornplanter,.....81, 85, 88
Council on Buffalo creek,.....76 to 82
County and City Hall, ... 512
Court-houses,.....170, 300, 512
Cronk, James,.....315, 327, 332

D.

D'Aubrey's expedition,.....51 to 53
Devil's Hole, ... 54
Devil's Ramrod,..... 166
Dudley, Maj. W. C.,.....182, 246, 249
Dutch, the, ...23, 38

E.

East Hamburg, 118, 122, 131, 142, 153, 173, 185, 191, 298, 441
Eaton, Rufus, ...187, 189, 307, 319
Ebenezer Society,.....442, 454
Eddy, David,...122, 201, 204, 267, 332
Eden, 175, 190, 201, 262, 299, 305, 333, 354
Ellicott, Joseph, 97 to 109, 115, 168, 349
Ellicott, Benjamin,..... ....102, 300
Elma,.....376, 429, 454
Emmons, Dr. C.,.....356, 426, 430
Emmons, Wales,..... 319
English dominion,.....54 to 59
Episodes (other than battles), 40 to 44, 71 to 73, 76 to 82, 85 to 88, 145 to 150, 221 to 223, 250 to 265, 311 to 313, 327 to 329, 346 to 349, 359 to 363, 365 to 370, 370 to 373, 381, 395, 397 to 399, 405 to 409, 413 to 420, 427 to 439, 442 to 444
Erie, old town of,.....120, 129, 154
Erie, new town of,.....356, 394
Erie, Fort, 56, 228, 269, 279, 281 to 289
Erie nation, ...19, 26 to 28
Evans, 123, 141, 176, 209, 318, 332, 333, 350, 354

F.

Fair, first, ... 332
Farmer's Brother, 54, 79, 84, 89, 165, 232 to 236, 239, 279 to 281
Fences,..... 139
Fenno, Moses, ... 183
Fiddler's Green,..... 299
Fillmore, Glezen, 177, 294, 317, 327, 363
Fillmore, Millard, 355, 384, 385, 387, 394, 397, 401, 410, 422, 426, 430, 436, 439 to 441, 447, 450, 460
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward,.....71, 73
Forty-ninth N. Y. Vols.,464, 472, 480, 491 to 494
Forward, Oliver,....180, 267, 323, 345

G.

Gazette, Buffalo, 194 to 206, 223, 265, 314
Ganson, John,.....466, 478, 506
Genesee county, ...109, 152 to 154
Geology,..... 12
Germans, 385, 394, 412, 427, 442 to 444, 454, 465, 511
Germans, (Pennsylvania,)..... 125
German Young Men's Association, 427, 510
Gilbert Family,.....64 to 66
Gowanda (see Lodi),..... 441
Grand Island, 14, 211, 324, 327 to 329, 360, 402, 447
Granger, E.,117, 127, 170, 178, 206, 210, 233, 245
Gillett, J.....147, 149
Greenbacks, origin of, ...467 to 469
Griffin, the,.....40 to 42, 185
Griffin's Mills,.....311, 339

H.

Hall, N. K., 387, 421, 431, 432, 440, 511
Hamburg, 119, 141, 185, 201, 209, 261, 298, 389, 441, 478
Harris' Hill,.....146, 265
Hard Times, the, ... 411
Hastings, Chauncey,..... .. 350
Hatchets, Norman,.....22, 28
Hatch, I. T., ...397, 450
Haven, S. G.,..431, 432, 441, 447, 449
Heacock, R. B.,....193, 316, 332, 374
Hennepin, Father, ... 40 to 42
Hitchcock, Alex.,.....172, 332, 424
Hodge, Wm.,..... 130, 194, 253, 263
Holland, 145, 175, 189, 229, 298, 311 to 313, 389
Holland Company, 84, 95, 107, 152, 170, 358, 378, 411
Holland Purchase,.....97 to 108, 152
Holmes' Hill,..... 144
Holt's execution,..... 393
Hopkins, Gen. T. S., 102, 125, 170, 182, 245, 294, 323
Horse bedstead,..... 135
Horn breeze,.....179, 317
Hoysington, J..... 352
Hull, Capt. Wm....149, 150, 235, 251
Humphrey, A.....145, 229, 323
Humphrey, Fort,..... 229
Humphrey, J. M.,...450, 490, 503, 505

Husking bee,..... 163
I.
Indians (see Iroquois, Senecas, Kahquahs, Eries, etc.)
Indian land-sales, 74 to 82, 95, 377, 422, 428
Iroquois, 19, 26, 30 to 40, 42, 60 to 94, 163 to 169, 210, 231 to 239, 245, 262
J.
Jesuits,.....24, 49
Johnson, Dr. E., 180, 205, 293, 357, 385, 396, 398
Johnson, Mrs.,..... 256
Johnson, G. W.,..... 387
Johnson, Sir William,.....49 to 59
Johnson, C. and O.,..... .119, 121
Johnston, Capt. Wm....64, 78, 90, 150
K.
Kahquahs,..... ....18, 20, 25 to 28
Kinney, D. C.,..... 118
Kirkland, Rev. S.,.....78, 83
L.
Lancaster, 98, 118, 125, 172, 317, 357, 399, 401
Lafayette,..... 364
La Salle,.....39 to 44
Landon, J.,..... .....147, 149, 171
Le Couteulx, L. S.,.....125, 170
Limestone ledge,.....12, 426
Lodi,.....374, 380, 441
Logging bee,..... 138
Love, John,.....359 to 362
Love, T. C., ...383, 385, 401, 431
Lovejoy, Mrs..... ..255 to 257
Lundy's Lane,.....276 to 278
M.
Marilla,..... ..... 376, 386, 429, 448
Marine affairs, 40, 57, 296, 301, 307, 317, 351, 400
Marriages,.....198, 209
Marshall, Dr. J. E., ...293, 384, 398
Mather, David,. 147
Maybee, Sylvanus,.....100, 134, 151
Mayors of Buffalo, 396, 421, 425, 442, 446, 507
McClure, Gen. G.,.....241 to 244, 259
Medical College, ... 435
Mechanical Society,..... ... 201
Medical Society,..... 200
Mobbing a hotel,..... 222
Monroe, President,..... ... 308
Moral Society, the, ... 295
Morgan's abduction,..... 377
Moseley, W. A.,..... .412, 430, 511
Murders, ...294, 326, 359, 393
N.
Natural characteristics,.....12 to 17
Neuter Nation (see Kahquahs).
New Amsterdam (see Buffalo).
Newark, burning of,..... 242
Newspapers, etc., 194, 224, 293, 314, 323, 346, 358, 380, 385, 402, 430, 444, 511
Niagara county,.....153, 335
Niagara river,..... 14
Niagara, Ft.,46, 48, 51, 53, 63, 91, 243
Noah, M. M.,.....365 to 370, 402
North Collins, 175, 188, 320, 338, 446
O.
Officers, county, 170, 182, 204, 227, 293, 300, 315, 333, 354, 357, 574, 383, 385, 397, 401, 410, 412, 426, 431, 435, 436, 439, 440, 447, 448, 449, 450, 452, 453, 458, 466, 478, 490, 504, 505, 506, 507
Old King,..... .....64, 81
One Hundredth N. Y. Vols., 465, 473 to 476, 481 to 485, 494 to 497
One Hundred and Sixteenth N. Y. Vols.,... 477, 485 to 489, 498 to 502
Ontario county,..... .....83, 109
Osborn, Mrs..... 145
P.
Palmer, John,.....100, 109
Patriot War,.....413 to 420
Peacock, Wm..... 114
Perry, Commodore,.. ..226, 239, 242
Peter Gimlet,..... 164
Phelps, Oliver,.....74, 78, 82
Pioneering, ...134 to 140, 156 to 162
Plumb, Ralph,..... ... 374
Plumping-mills,.. 136
Pomeroy, R. M.,..... ..221, 264
Porter, Gen. P. B.,179, 182, 217, 219, 221, 227, 233 to 239, 241, 267, 283, 285 to 289, 292, 324, 341, 379, 383
Potter, H. B., 193, 323, 332, 361, 363, 367, 384, 385
Pratt, Samuel,.....127, 147, 163, 213
Powell, Capt.,.....64, 65, 84, 85
Proctor, Col.,.....85 to 88
Q.
Queen Charlotte, the,..... 209
R.
Ransom, Asa, 91, 101, 106, 133, 146, 151, 170, 204, 227, 315
Ransom, Harry B.,.....102, 416
Rathbun, Benj.,.....407 to 409
Rebellion, beginning of,..... 459
Red Jacket, 80, 85 to 89, 167, 210, 231, 239, 269, 271, 275, 276, 292, 303, 324, 347 to 349, 362, 364, 376, 382, 390 392
Recorder's Court,.....426, 450
Reed, Israel,..... 258
Reese, David,.....116, 169, 295
Relics,.....28, 124, 185
Revolution, the,.....60 to 67
Rice, Elihu,..... 189, 205, 268, 316
Richmond, Gen. F., 175, 267, 299, 301, 316, 346

Root, John,.....170, 265, 342
Russell, W. C.,..... 297

S.

Sagoyewatha (see Red Jacket).
Salisbury, Aaron,.....176, 209, 426
Sardinia, 175, 189, 265, 290, 332, 334, 350, 389
Scajaquada creek, 15, 83, 100, 247, 281
Schools, etc., 142, 143, 148, 173, 389, 399, 421, 435
Scott, Gen. Winfield,...267 to 278, 416
Settlement,... .....104 to 194
Senators, State, 205, 330, 374, 385, 401, 412, 430, 436, 440, 447, 448, 450, 452, 453, 466, 490, 505, 506, 507
Senecas, The, 19, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54 to 94, 110, 163 to 169, 210, 231 to 239, 245, 260, 262, 269 to 276, 279, 303, 309, 324, 376, 422, 428
Shooting Niagara,..... 388
Silver Greys,..... 208
Six Nations (see Iroquois).
Slaves in Erie county,..... 330
Smith, Daniel,.. .....131, 173, 185
Smith, Richard,.....185, 300
Smith's Mills, (Aurora), ...176, 299
Smith's Mills, (Hamburg), 185, 298, 331, 337
Smyth, Gen. A.,.....216 to 221, 225
Southwick, Geo.,..... 187
Spaulding, E. G.,.....467 to 469
Speculation,.....400, 403, 405 to 408
Spencer, "Father,".....290, 299, 310
Springs, stoned up,..... 29
Springville, 143, 187, 299, 319, 331, 389
Spy, Indian,..... ... 279
State reservation,.....73, 99, 377
Staunton, Adjutant, ...235 to 238
Stephens, Phineas,.....143, 208, 224
Stephens' Mills,..... 243
Storrs, Juba,..... .....170, 182
Sugar-making, ... 159
Superior Court and judges, ...450, 507
Supervisors, 111, 129, 146, 172, 175, 177, 193, 201, 226, 267, 293, 300, 306, 314, 323, 330, 345, 354, 358, 374, 375, 378, 383, 386, 388, 394, 402, 410, 412, 421, 424, 431, 441, 442, 456, 467, 479, 490, 504, 507
Supreme Court justices, 435, 436, 448, 507

T.

Taylor, Jacob,.....142, 175
Tenth New York Cavalry,..... 466
Thayers, the three,.....359 to 363
Timber, original,..... 16
Tomahawk, anecdote of,..... 144
Tommy Jimmy,.....303, 346 to 349
Tonawanda, 171, 183, 211, 246, 308, 357, 380, 410
Tonawanda creek,..... 14
Tonawanda reservation, 93, 376, 422, 428
Topography,..... 13
Town meeting, first,..... 111
Tracy, A. H., 293, 315, 330, 354, 358, 377, 385, 401, 412
Trails, Indian, ... 101
Transit, West, ... 99
Treat, Oren,. 176
Trowbridge, Dr. J.,.....201, 227, 412
Tucker, Samuel,.....187, 340
Tupper, Samuel,....130, 170, 204, 307
Turkey, John,..... 320
Twenty-first New York Vols. 462, 469 to 472, 480

V.

Vandeventer, P.,....111, 129, 146, 171
Volunteers, 221, 228, 285 to 289, 459 to 503

W.

Walden, E., 147, 170, 203, 250, 257, 258, 357, 361
Wales, 144, 174, 184, 297, 314, 330, 363, 389, 393
Walk-in-the-Water, ...310, 351
War for the Union,.....459 to 503
Warner, D. S.,.....297, 389
War of 1812, ...207 to 290
Warren, Jabez,.....113, 123
Warren, Gen. Wm., 132, 143, 151, 170, 182, 205 to 249, 261, 267, 285, 294, 298, 315
Warren, Asa,...268, 305, 316, 354, 412
Well and sweep,..... 157
White Woman, the,.....60, 395
White's Corners,..... 337
Wiedrich's Battery,..465, 478, 485, 497
Wilber, Stephen, ... 188
Wilkeson, Samuel, 250, 264, 293, 307, 322, 331, 333, 350 to 353, 357
Williams, Jonas,....133, 204, 227, 267
Williamsville, 102, 107, 125, 133, 146, 171, 183, 266, 292, 296, 386, 426
Willink, 120, 129, 146, 154, 181, 297, 313
Winney, Cornelius,.....83, 88, 92
Wood, James,.....184, 192, 363, 431
Worth, Gen. W. J.,.... .....279, 418
Wright's Corners,.....142, 298, 337
Wright's Mills,..... 318

Y.

Young King,.....85, 167, 237, 295
Young Men's Association, ... 403

Errata. On page 50, read *1758*, instead of 1858. On same page, read *1759*, instead of 1859. On page 54, read *1763*, instead of 1863. On page 130, read *Amsdell*, instead of Amsden. On page 184, read *1801*, instead of 1810.

INTRODUCTION.

The "Centennial History of Erie County" is now presented to the public, after fifteen months of continuous labor, three more than I expected to occupy. That there are defects in it is a matter of course—especially as this is my first historical effort. It is idle, however, to apologize—people never pay any attention to apologies—the book will probably go for what it is worth, and must take its chances among critics and readers.

Had I known, however, the amount of labor involved, and the very poor pay to be obtained, it is doubtful whether I should have attempted the task. If any one thinks it easy to harmonize and arrange the immense number of facts and dates here treated of, let him try to learn the precise circumstances regarding a single event, occurring twenty years ago, and he will soon find how widely authorities differ.

Doubtless, the most fault will be found by those who think that their grandfathers have not received due attention—but there was such a host of grandfathers. If I had even mentioned the tenth part of them, it would have turned the book into a mere list of names. There are two or three towns of which I have not made as frequent mention as I had intended, but this is partly because those towns have furnished no remarkable crimes, nor astonishing follies, to shock or amuse the reader.

The principal object of this introduction is to give credit where credit is due. Nearly all the first hundred pages of my history, and much of the next hundred, are drawn from Turner's "Holland Purchase," Ketchum's "Buffalo and the Senecas," and Stone's "Life of Red Jacket." The still later matter relating to Red Jacket is, also, mostly from Mr. Stone's work. The story of the "White Woman" is abstracted from Seaver's biography, while W. P. Letchworth's memoir of the Pratt family furnishes many incidents of early times.

The sketches of the Twenty-first, One Hundredth and One Hundred and Sixteenth New York Volunteers are condensed from the histories of Mr. J. H. Mills, Major Stowits and Captain Clark. The record of the Forty-ninth is principally derived from Mr. G. D. Emerson's published account. Mr. F. F. Fargo's "Memorial" has likewise been of much service, and I am indebted to Judge Sheldon, and Messrs. L. F. Allen and O. G. Steele, for valuable pamphlets; and to Messrs. H. W. Rogers, of Michigan, and G. W. Johnson, of Niagara county, for interesting reminiscences. I am also under especial obligations to my father, Mr. Wm. C. Johnson, for important assistance.

To the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, I have to return thanks for the use of its files of early newspapers, and to the Historical Society, for similar privileges, not only as to its newspapers, but as to its vast number of pamphlets and manuscripts. I would also acknowledge the personal assistance, as well as aid from the libraries, of Messrs. G. R. Babcock and O. H. Marshall.

But a great part of this history is derived from living lips. I would tender especial thanks for such aid to General William Warren, now of Orleans county, but for nearly seventy years a resident of Erie, whom I visited to consult, and whose memory of the stirring scenes in which he took an active part, is hardly dimmed by his ninety-one years of age. I would also cordially acknowledge the information received from the following ladies and gentlemen of the county—old settlers, their descendants, soldiers, and others—information embodied in some of the most interesting portions of the work before the reader:

Mrs. A. S. Bemis, Mrs. A. C. Fox, Mrs. Dr. Lord, Col. Bird, Gen. Rogers, Gen. Scroggs, Col. Wiedrich, Rt. Rev. S. V. Ryan, Rev. Drs. Lord and Heacock, Wm. Hodge, F. W. Tracy, H. Wells, Dr. Dellenbaugh, E. C. Grey, J. Rieffenstahl and E. Besser, of Buffalo; John Simpson and Urial Driggs, of Tonawanda; T. A. Hopkins, J. F. Youngs, Christian Long and John Frick, of Amherst; Mrs. Lavina Fillmore, David Vantine, Lindsay Hamlin, Abraham Shope and Col. Beaman, of Clarence; Mrs. Lemuel Osborn, L. D. Covey, Mr. Wainwright and Wm. Denio, of Newstead; T. and J. Farnsworth and Mr. Hendee, of Alden; James Clark, of Lancaster; Major Briggs, of Elma; G. W. Carpenter, of Marilla; Seth Holmes, P. M. Hall, W. C. Russell and D. S. Warner, of Wales; Mrs. Judge Paine, Oren Treat, Wm. Boies, John Darbee, Erasmus Adams and Horace Prentice of Aurora; Mrs. Sarah Colvin, James Johnson, Wm. Austin, Thos. Thurber, Allen Potter and S. V. R. Graves of East Hamburg; Israel Taylor, Abner Amsdell, A. C. Calkins, Dr. Geo. Abbott and Dr. S. H. Nott, of Hamburg; Mrs. Judge Salisbury, Mrs. Root, Col. Ira Ayer, Dr. George Sweetland, Joseph Bennett, John Hutchinson and Lyman Oatman, of Evans; Mrs. Ryther, Miss Warren, Russell, Roswell and John Hill, and Morris March, of Eden; Truman Cary, Edward Hatch, Ambrose Torrey and V. R. Cary, of Boston; Mrs. Sweet, Thomas Buffum and Asa Gould, of Colden; Alvin Orr, B. F. Morey, Leander Cook, Peter Colby and M. L. Dickerman, of Holland; Mrs. Gen. Nott, Mrs. Hastings, Clinton Colegrove, Mr. Rice, Hiram Crosby and Jonathan Matthewson, of Sardinia; Eaton Bensley, R. C. Eaton, C. C. Smith, C. C. Severance, Geo. Mayo, Byron Cochran, Jeremiah Richardson and Rev. Mr. Wells, of Concord; Mrs. Welch, Robert Arnold, Humphrey Smith, Isaac Hale, John Sherman and Geo. Wheeler, of North Collins; Ansel Smith, of Brant; J. H. McMillan, Geo. Southwick, Augustus Smith, Caleb Taylor and Col. Cook, of Collins; Mrs. Wright, B. F. Hall and N. H. Parker, of the Cattaraugus reservation. Three of the oldest and most prominent of those whom I consulted last year have since passed away from life—Dr. Emmons of Concord, James Wood of Wales, and Alex. Hitchcock of Cheektowaga.

In many cases the information has been presented substantially as received; in others, it has been so condensed and worked in with other matter as hardly to be recognized by those who gave it, but it is none the less necessary to the completion of a thorough history.

C. J.

East Aurora, N. Y., August 23d, 1876.

CENTENNIAL

HISTORY OF ERIE COUNTY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUBJECT.

Beginning of Erie County's History.—When it was named.—Its Boundaries.—Its Area.—The System pursued.

The history of the county of Erie begins about the year 1620, when the first Europeans visited its vicinity. Before that time all is either tradition or inference. Afterwards, although the historic trace is often extremely faint, yet it is still to be seen, growing gradually plainer for a hundred and eighty years, until in the beginning of the present century it swells into a broad and beaten pathway, trodden by the feet of scores of surveyors, of hundreds of pioneers, of thousands of farmers, of tens of thousands of all classes, conditions and nationalities.

But Erie county was not organized with its present name and boundaries until 1821. The larger and the more interesting part of its history had at that time already taken place. It is necessary, therefore, to point out that the subject of this work is the territory comprised within the present bounds of the county of Erie, together with the inhabitants of that territory, no matter whether the events recorded occurred before or after the beginning of the independent existence of the county.

The county of Erie, in the State of New York, is situated between 42° 25′ and 43° 6′ of north latitude, and between 1° 30′ and

2° 20′ of longitude west from Washington. It is bounded northerly by the center of Tonawanda creek and by the center of the east branch of Niagara river (between Grand Island and the mainland) from the mouth of the Tonawanda to the junction with the west branch; westerly by the line between the United States and Canada, from the junction up along the center of the west branch and of the whole river to Lake Erie, and thence southwesterly along the middle of the lake to a point where the international boundary makes a right angle with a line to the mouth of Cattaraugus creek; southerly by a line from the point of intersection just mentioned to the mouth of the Cattaraugus, and thence up along the center of that creek to the crossing of the line between the fourth and fifth ranges of the Holland Company's survey; and easterly by the line between those ranges, from the Cattaraugus to the Tonawanda, except that for six miles opposite the town of Marilla the county line is a mile and a quarter west of the range line.

The range line is twenty-three miles east of the center of Niagara river at the foot of Lake Erie, and thirty-four and a half miles east of the mouth of Cattaraugus creek. The extreme length of the county north and south is forty-three and a half miles, and its greatest width, including the lake portion, is about thirty-nine miles. The land surface contains one thousand and seventy-one square miles. Besides this it embraces, as we have seen, a considerable portion of Lake Erie, amounting as near as I can compute it to about a hundred and sixty square miles. This is not generally included in the county, but legally is as much a part of it as Tonawanda or Sardinia. The whole amounts to about twelve hundred and thirty square miles.

I have been thus particular in designating the limits of the county in the beginning, in order to place the subject of this history clearly before the reader. Whatever has existed or occurred within those limits, or has been done by the residents of that territory, comes within the purview of this work, and if of sufficient consequence will be duly noticed. It will be necessary, also, to refer occasionally to outside matters, in order to elucidate the history of the county and show the succession of events. Such extraneous references, however, will be very brief, and will be confined chiefly to a few of the earlier chapters.

When "Erie county" is spoken of previous to the organization and naming of that county, it will be understood that the words are used to avoid circumlocution, and mean the territory now included within the boundaries of the county. So, too, for convenience, the territory now comprised in a town will sometimes be mentioned by its present name, before any such town was in existence.

CHAPTER II.

NATURAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Geology.—The Limestone Ledge.—The "Portage Group."—Topography.—Level Land in the North.—Rolling Land in the Center.—Hills South of Center.—Fertile Lands in extreme South.—River and Lake.—Creeks.—Character of Forests.—Old Prairies.—The Animal Kingdom.—The Buffalo.

Before narrating events, I will give a brief description of the theater on which those events occurred, and endeavor to answer the question: What manner of territory was it, the history of which began two hundred and twenty-six years ago?

To begin at the foundation. It is known that beneath the surface accumulations of various kinds of soil the earth is divided into rocky strata, of widely different natures, to which various names have been given by scientific observers. These strata are usually more or less inclined upward, and in common parlance they "crop out" at the surface, one above the other, somewhat like a number of boards, which have stood on edge side by side, and have then fallen down. Lay the clapboarded side of a house flat on the ground, and it will give some idea of the manner in which the geological strata overlap each other; only they run back under each other for an unknown distance, instead of merely far enough to drive a nail.

The strata which come to or near the surface in Erie county incline upward to the north. They all belong to what is called by our State geologists the "New York system," the rocks being analogous to the Silurian and Devonian systems of European scientists. The lowest of the Erie county strata belongs to what is termed the "Onondaga salt group," and underlies all that part of the county north of the ledge described in the next sentence.

Next above this comes the hydraulic (or water lime), Onondaga and corniferous limestones, which crop out in a ledge from thirty to sixty feet high, which extends in a direction somewhat north of east from Black Rock, in the city of Buffalo, through the south-

ern part of the towns of Amherst, Clarence and Newstead, to the Genesee county line, and thence for a long distance eastward. In this stratum the water limestone and the common limestone are closely intermingled.

Overlapping these limestones, what are called the Marcellus and Hamilton shales crop out in the central parts of the county, while still further south the rocks of the "Portage group" appear on the tops of the hills. The Portage stratum, like all the rest, dips to the southward, and in Pennsylvania forms the bottom of the vast coal basins of that State; so that geologists declare that the whole of Erie County is too low in the geological system for any possible mines of that article.

It is needless to observe that in 1620 geology was an unknown science, and even if the best educated of Europeans had found his way to the wilds of Erie county he would have understood naught of "strata," or "dips," or "Silurian systems." The other natural characteristics of the county would, however, have been visible to the naked eye, and the geological description seemed a proper foundation for the rest.

As to the topography, or configuration of the surface, of the county, it is extremely diversified. North of the limestone ledge it is almost a perfect level, and near the Tonawanda was originally swampy. The soil is a deep alluvial loam, and the appearance of the country at the present time reminds the traveler of the broad, rich bottoms of western rivers.

South of the ledge, for ten or twelve miles, the land, though more uneven than north of it, is not so much so as is usual east of the Alleganies, and in its cleared state bears a considerable resemblance to the upland prairies of the West. The soil is a clayey loam interspersed with gravel.

A little farther south the surface becomes moderately broken and the soil gravelly. These are the characteristics of the central parts of the county.

Still farther south the ground, except near the lake shore, begins to rise in hills, which at length attain a height of from seven to nine hundred feet above the lake. Between these hills run deep valleys, bearing northwestward toward the lake, and varying from a few rods to nearly a mile in width. The tops of the hills generally form level table-lands, covered with a stiff

clayey soil, while a fertile alluvial loam is found in the valleys. Along the lake shore, however, and for several miles back, the land is as level and rich as in the northern portions of the county.

As one passes from the table-lands just mentioned toward the northern boundary of the county, the surface descends, and a fertile, rolling territory again spreads out before him. Just before reaching Cattaraugus creek there is a range of steep declivities and rugged bluffs, now known as the "Cattaraugus breakers," which extend the whole width of the county. Below these is only a narrow flat, portions of which are often overflowed by the turbulent waters of the Cattaraugus.

West of the northern part of this territory, the Niagara river runs in a very rapid current for a mile after it leaves Lake Erie, then subsides to a velocity of two and a half miles per hour, and divides into two streams about five miles below the lake, enclosing Grand Island, ten miles long and nearly as wide. Buckhorn Island, lying off the farthest point of Grand Island, continues the county's jurisdiction about a mile farther down, bringing it within three miles of the world-renowned cataract of Niagara.

South of the head of the river, for six or seven miles, the narrow foot of the lake crowds still farther eastward upon the land; thence the shore trends away to the southwest, far beyond the limits of Erie county.

Across the county run numerous creeks, the general course of all of them being westward or northwestward, and all finally mingling their waters with Lake Erie or the Niagara river. Tonawanda creek, as has been said, is the northern boundary of the county. Its length, according to the general course of its valley and aside from its lesser windings, is near sixty miles, thirty of which it has run in Genesee county when it strikes the northwestern corner of Erie. On its way to the Niagara, which it reaches opposite the middle of Grand Island, it receives Murder creek, a stream about ten miles long, some four miles from the Genesee county line; Ransom creek, about fifteen miles long, empties some twelve miles farther down, and just above its mouth the Tonawanda is joined by Ellicott or Eleven-Mile creek, which is not less than twenty-five miles in length. All, including the Tonawanda, head south of the limestone terrace,

Murder creek breaking through it at the village of Akron, Ransom's creek at Clarence Hollow, and Ellicott creek at Williamsville.

Scajaquada creek enters the Niagara two miles below its exit from the lake, having flowed about fifteen miles in a westerly direction.

About a mile and a half above the head of the river the principal stream of the county flows into Lake Erie. This is Buffalo creek, or Buffalo river as it is now called. It is composed of three branches. The main one, commonly called the Big Buffalo, heads in Wyoming county, crosses into Erie after a course of a few miles, then runs northwestward about fifteen miles, and then westward fifteen or eighteen miles more to its mouth. Six miles from the lake it receives Cayuga creek from the northeast, that stream having followed a general westward course of about twenty miles. Two or three miles lower down it is joined on the other side by Cazenove creek, which heads in the extreme southeast corner of the county, and flows thirty miles northwest, receiving, about half-way down, the waters of the west branch, which have run in a generally northern direction for fifteen miles.

All these distances are merely approximate, and relate to the general course of the respective streams, and not to their mirror curves.

Five miles south from the mouth of the Buffalo, Smoke's creek, a twelve-mile stream, enters the lake, and a mile or two farther up is Rush creek, which is still smaller.

The north branch of the Eighteen-Mile creek heads near the south bounds of the county, not far from the head of the west branch of the Cazenove, runs northwesterly twelve miles, then nearly west about five miles, where it is joined by the south branch, a stream about twelve miles long, and then the whole flows five miles westerly, and enters the lake about eighteen miles from the mouth of the Buffalo.

Eight miles above its mouth is that of the Big Sister, a stream some fifteen miles long.

The Cattaraugus forms the southern boundary of the county for thirty miles, and it heads some ten miles east of the county line. Though it makes a considerable bend to the southward, its

mouth is nearly due west of its head. Its tributaries in this county are all small, the largest being Clear creek, a twelve-mile stream, entering the Cattaraugus eight miles from its mouth. There are of course innumerable small streams, which cannot be mentioned in a mere cursory topographical sketch.

Thus far the natural characteristics of Erie county are the same now that they were in 1620, and had been for unknown ages before, save that less water flows along the streams than when their banks were shaded by the primeval forests. Some new names have been applied by the white man, but in many cases even the names remain unchanged.

The outward dress, however, of these hills and valleys is widely different from what it was two centuries and a half ago. In the southern part of the county the valleys were covered with beech and maple, the hills with oak and elm and occasional bodies of pine, and a little farther north with large quantities of hemlock. In the center the pine increased in quantity, the land on both sides of Buffalo creek and its branches being largely occupied by towering pines of the finest quality. It will be understood, of course, that these remarks refer only to the principal growths in the different sections, all the kinds of timber named being more or less intermingled, and numerous other kinds being found in smaller quantities.

In the northern part of the county hardwood trees again predominated, the low grounds north of the limestone ledge being thickly covered. Birch appeared in large quantities on the Tonawanda.

But the tract running east and west through the county, for some ten miles, south of the limestone ledge, was the most peculiar. Here the timber was principally oak, but a great part of the territory consisted of openings, or prairies, entirely bare of trees. It is difficult to ascertain their original extent, but there is no doubt that when the country was first settled, seventy-five years ago, there were numerous prairies of from fifty acres apiece down to five. Taking this fact in connection with the accounts of early travelers, it is almost certain that their extent had been gradually decreasing, and that a hundred and fifty years earlier nearly the whole of the tract in question was an open prairie.

This chapter may fitly be closed by a glance at the animals which originally inhabited the county of Erie, though possibly they ought to be described in the next one, under the head of "occupants."

The deer strayed in great numbers through the forest and darted across the prairies. In the thickest retreats the gray wolf made his lair. The black bear often rolled his unwieldly form beneath the nut-bearing trees, and occasionally the wild scream of the panther, fiercest of American beasts, startled the Indian hunter into even more than his usual vigilance. The hedgehog and the raccoon were common, and squirrels of various kinds leaped gaily on the trees. To include the whole animal kingdom, here the wild turkey and the partridge oft furnished food for the family of the red hunter, pigeons in enormous quantities yearly made their home within our boundaries, numerous smaller birds fluttered among the trees, the eagle occasionally swept overhead from his eyrie by the great cataract, and, besides some harmless varieties of reptiles, thousands of deadly rattlesnakes hissed and writhed among the rocks in the northern portion of the county.

Of all these there is no question. But there has been much dispute whether the lordliest of American beasts ever honored with his presence the localities which bear his name; whether the buffalo ever drank from the waters of Buffalo creek, or rested on the site of Buffalo city. The question will be discussed some chapters further on; at present I will only say that judging from the prairie-like nature of a portion of the ground, from the fact that the animal in question certainly roamed over territory but a little way west of us, from the accounts of early travelers, from relics which have been discovered, and from the name which I believe the Indians bestowed on the principal stream of this vicinity, I have little doubt that the county of Erie was, in 1620, at least occasionally visited by the pride of the western plains, the unwieldly but majestic buffalo.

For buffalo, not "bison," is now his true name, and by it he will invariably be called in this volume. If his name was ever bison, it has been changed by the sovereign people of America, (all names may be changed by the law-making power,) and it is but hopeless pedantry to attempt to revive that appellation.

CHAPTER III.

OCCUPANTS, NEIGHBORS, ETC.

Early Missionaries.—The Neuter Nation.—The Eries.—The Hurons.—The Iroquois. Former Occupants.—Fortifications.—Weapons.—Inferences.—The French in Canada.—The Puritans in New England.—The Dutch in New York.

As was said in the beginning, it was about the year 1620 that the first knowledge of this region began to reach the ears of Europeans. In that year three French Catholic missionaries came to instruct the Indians living in Canada, northwestward of this locality. It does not appear that they visited the shores of the Niagara, but they obtained some information regarding the dwellers there, and that knowledge was eked out by the hardy French hunters and trappers who explored the shores of the great lakes in search of furs, preceding even the devoted missionaries of the Catholic faith.

At that time the county of Erie was in the possession of a tribe of Indians whom the French called the Neuter Nation. Their Indian name was sometimes given as the Kahquahs and sometimes as the Attiwondaronks. The former is the one by which they are generally known.

The French called them the Neuter Nation because they lived at peace with the fierce tribes which dwelt on either side of them. They were reported by their first European visitors to number twelve thousand souls. This, however, was doubtless a very great exaggeration, as that number was greater than was to be found among all the six nations of the Iroquois in the day of their greatest glory. It is a universal habit to exaggerate the numbers of barbarians, who cover much ground and make a large show in comparison with their real strength.

They were undoubtedly, however, a large and powerful nation, as size and power were estimated among Indian tribes. Their villages lay on both sides of the Niagara, chiefly the western. There was also a Kahquah village near the mouth of Eighteen-Mile creek, and perhaps one or two others on the south shore of Lake Erie.

The greater part, however, of that shore was occupied by the tribe from which the lake derives its name, the Eries. These were termed by the French the "Nation of the Cat," whence many have inferred that "Erie" means cat; the further inference being that the city of Buffalo is situated at the foot of Cat lake, and that this is the Centennial History of the County of Cat.

The old accounts, however, rather tend to show that the name of "Cat" was applied by the French to both the tribe and the lake on their own responsibility, on account of the many wild-cats and panthers found in that locality. "Erie" may possibly mean wild-cat or panther, but I believe there is no authentic account of a separate Indian nation calling themselves by the name of an animal.

Northwest of the Neuter Nation dwelt the Algonquins or Hurons, reaching to the shores of the great lake which bears their name, while to the eastward was the home of those powerful confederates whose fame has extended throughout the world, whose civil polity has been the wonder of sages, whose warlike achievements have compelled the admiration of soldiers, whose eloquence has thrilled the hearts of the most cultivated hearers, the brave, sagacious and far-dreaded Iroquois. They then consisted of but five nations, and their "Long House," as they themselves termed their confederacy, extended from east to west, through all the rich central portion of the present State of New York. The Mohawks were in the fertile valley of the Mohawk river; the Oneidas, the most peaceful of the confederates, were beside the lake, the name of which still keeps their memory green; then as now the territory of the Onondagas was the gathering place of leaders, though State conventions have taken the place of the council fires which once blazed near the site of Syracuse; the Cayugas kept guard over the beautiful lake which now bears their name, while westward from Seneca lake ranged the fierce, untamable Sonnonthouans, better known as Senecas, the warriors par excellence of the confederacy. Their villages reached westward to within thirty or forty miles of the Niagara, or to the vicinity of the present village of Batavia.

Deadly war prevailed between the Iroquois and the Hurons, and the hostility between the former and the Eries was scarcely

less fervent. Betwixt these contending foemen the peaceful Kahquahs long maintained their neutrality, and the warriors of the East, of the Northwest and of the Southwest suppressed their hatred for the time, as they met by the council fires of these aboriginal peace-makers. When first discovered, Erie county was the land of quiet, while tempests raged around.

Like other Indian tribes, the Kahquahs guarded against surprise by placing their villages a short distance back from any navigable water; in this case, from the Niagara river and Lake Erie. One of those villages was named Onguiaahra, after the mighty torrent which they designated by that name—a name which has since been shortened into Niagara.

In dress, food and customs, the Kahquahs do not appear to have differed much from the other savages around them; wearing the same scanty covering of skins, living principally on meat killed in the chase, but raising patches of Indian corn, beans and gourds.

Such were the inhabitants of Erie county, and such their surroundings, at the beginning of its history.

As for the still earlier occupants of the county, I shall dilate very little upon them, for there is really very little from which one can draw a reasonable inference. The Iroquois and the Hurons had been in New York and Canada for at least twenty years before the opening of this history, and probably for a hundred years more. Their earliest European visitors heard no story of their having recently migrated from other lands, and they certainly would have heard it had any such fact existed. The Kahquahs must also have been for a goodly time in this locality, or they could not have acquired the influence necessary to maintain their neutrality between such fierce neighbors.

All or any of these tribes might have been on the ground they occupied in 1620 any time from a hundred to a thousand years, for all that can be learned from any reliable source. Much has been written of mounds, fortifications, bones, relics, etc., usually supposed to have belonged to some half-civilized people of gigantic size, who lived here before the Indians, but there is very little evidence to justify the supposition.

It is true that numerous earthworks, evidently intended for fortifications, have been found in Erie county, as in other parts

of Western New York, enclosing from two to ten acres each, and covered with forest trees, the concentric circles of which indicate an age of from two hundred to five hundred years, with other evidences of a still earlier growth. Some of these will be mentioned in describing the settlement of the various towns. They prove with reasonable certainty that there were human inhabitants here several hundred years ago, and that they found it necessary thus to defend themselves against their enemies, but it does not prove that they were of an essentially different race from the Indians who were discovered here by the earliest Europeans.

It has been suggested that the Indians never built breastworks, and that these fortifications were beyond their patience and skill. But they certainly did build palisades, frequently requiring much labor and ingenuity. When the French first came to Montreal, they discovered an Indian town of fifty huts, which was encompassed by three lines of palisades some thirty feet high, with one well-secured entrance. On the inside was a rampart of timber, ascended by ladders, and supplied with heaps of stones ready to cast at an enemy.

Certainly, those who had the necessary patience, skill and industry to build such a work as that were quite capable of building intrenchments of earth. In fact, one of the largest fortresses of Western New York, known as Fort Hill, in the town of Le Roy, Genesee county, contained, when first discovered, great piles of round stones, evidently intended for use against assailants, and showing about the same progress in the art of war as was evinced by the palisade-builders.

True, the Iroquois, when first discovered, did not build forts of earth, but it is much more likely that they had abandoned them in the course of improvement for the more convenient palisade, than that a whole race of half-civilized men had disappeared from the country, leaving no other trace than these earthworks. Considering the light weapons then in vogue, the palisade was an improvement on the earthwork, offering equal resistance to missiles and much greater resistance to escalade.

Men are apt to display a superfluity of wisdom in dealing with such problems, and to reject simple explanations merely because they are simple. The Indians were here when the

country was discovered, and so were the earthworks, and I believe the former constructed the latter.

It has been claimed that human bones of gigantic size have been discovered, but when the evidence is sifted, and the constant tendency to exaggerate is taken into account, there will be found no reason to believe that they were relics of any other race than the American Indians.

The numerous small axes or hatchets which have been found throughout Western New York were unquestionably of French origin, and so, too, doubtless, were the few other utensils of metal which have been discovered in this vicinity.

On the whole, we may safely conclude that, while it is by no means impossible that some race altogether different from the Indians existed here before them, there is no good evidence that such was the case, and the strong probabilities are that if there was any such race it was inferior rather than superior to the people discovered here by the Europeans.

The relations of this section of country to the European powers was of a very indefinite description. James the First was on the throne of England, and Louis the Thirteenth was on that of France, with the great Richelieu as his prime minister.

In 1534, nearly a century before the opening of this history, and only forty-two years after the discovery of America, the French explorer, George Cartier, had sailed up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, and taken possession of all the country round about on behalf of King Francis the First, by the name of New France. He made some attempts at colonization, but in 1543 they were all abandoned, and for more than half a century the disturbed condition of France prevented further progress in America.

In 1603, the celebrated French mariner, Samuel Champlain, led an expedition to Quebec, made a permanent settlement there, and in fact founded the colony of Canada. From Quebec and Montreal, which was soon after founded, communication was comparatively easy along the course of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, and even up Lake Erie after a portage around the Falls. Thus it was that the French fur-traders and missionaries reached the borders of Erie county far in advance of any other explorers.

In 1606, King James had granted to an association of Englishmen called the Plymouth Company the territory of New England, but no permanent settlement was made until the 9th day of November, 1620, when from the historic Mayflower the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock. The English settlements were expected to stretch westward to the Pacific or Great South Sea, and patents were granted to accommodate this liberal expansion.

In 1609, the English navigator, Henry Hudson, while in the employ of the Dutch, had discovered the river which bears his name, and since then the latter people had established fortified trading posts at its mouth and at Albany, and had opened a commerce in furs. They, too, made an indefinite claim of territory westward. It will be understood that in speaking of "the Dutch" I do not refer to the Germans, sometimes mistakenly called by that name, but to the real Dutch, or people of Holland.

All European nations at this time recognized the right of discovery as constituting a valid title to lands occupied only by scattered barbarians, but there were wide differences as to its application, and as to the amount of surrounding country which each discoverer could claim on behalf of his sovereign.

Thus at the end of 1620 there were three distinct streams of emigration, with three attendant claims of sovereignty, converging toward the county of Erie. Let but the French at Montreal, the English in Massachusetts, and the Dutch on the Hudson all continue the work of colonization, following the great natural channels, and all would ultimately meet at the foot of Lake Erie.

For the time being the French had the best opportunity and the Dutch the next, while the English were apparently third in the race.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 1620 TO 1655.

The French Traders.—Dutch Progress.—The Jesuits.—De la Roche Daillon.—The Company of a Hundred Partners.—Capture and Restoration of New France.—Chaumonot and Breboeuf.—Hunting Buffalo.—Destruction of the Kahquahs and Eries.—Seneca Tradition.—French Account.—Norman Hatchets.—Stoned-up Springs.

For the first twenty years little occurred directly affecting the history of Erie county, though events were constantly happening which aided in shaping its destinies. We learn from casual remarks of Catholic writers that the French traders traversed all this region in their search for furs, and even urged their light batteaux still farther up the lakes.

In 1623, permanent Dutch emigration, as distinguished from mere fur-trading expeditions, first began upon the Hudson. The colony was named New Netherlands, and the first governor was sent thither by the Batavian Republic.

In 1625, a few Jesuits arrived on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the advance guard of a host of representatives of that remarkable order, which was in time to crowd out almost all other Catholic missionaries from Canada and the whole lake region, and substantially monopolize the ground themselves.

In 1626, Father De la Roche Daillon, a Recollect missionary, visited the Neuter Nation, and passed the winter preaching the gospel among them.

In 1627, Cardinal Richelieu organized the company of New France, otherwise known as the Company of a Hundred Partners. The three chief objects of this association were to extend the fur trade, to convert the Indians to Christianity, and to discover a new route to China by way of the great lakes of North America. The company actually succeeded in extending the fur trade, but not in going to China by way of Lake Erie, and not to any great extent in converting the Indians.

By the terms of their charter they were to transport six thou-

sand emigrants to Canada and to furnish them with an ample supply of both priests and artisans. Champlain was made governor. His first two years' experience was bitter in the extreme. The British men-of-war captured his supplies by sea, the Iroquois warriors tomahawked his hunters by land, and in 1629 an English fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence and captured Quebec. Soon afterward, however, peace was concluded, New France was restored to King Louis and Champlain resumed his gubernatorial powers.

In 1628, Charles the First, of England, granted a charter for the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay. It included the territory between latitude 40°2′ and 44°15′ north, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, making a colony a hundred and fifty-four miles wide and four thousand miles long. The county of Erie was included within its limits, as was the rest of Western New York.

The Jesuit missionaries, fired with unbounded zeal and unsurpassed valor, traversed the wilderness, holding up the cross before the bewildered pagans. They naturally had much better success with the Hurons than with the Iroquois, whom Champlain had foolishly attacked on one of his earliest expeditions to America, and who afterwards remained the almost unvarying enemies of the French.

The Jesuits soon had flourishing stations as far west as Lake Huron. One of these was St. Marie, near the eastern extremity of that lake, and it was from St. Marie that Fathers Bréboeuf and Chaumonot set forth in November, 1840, to visit the Neuter Nation. They returned the next spring, having visited eighteen Kahquah villages, but having met with very little encouragement among them. They reported the Neuter Indians to be stronger and finer-looking than other savages with whom they were acquainted.

In 1641, Father L'Allemant wrote to the Jesuit provincial in France, describing the expedition of Bréboeuf and Chaumonot, and one of his expressions goes far to settle the question whether the buffalo ever inhabited this part of the country. He says of the Neuter Nation, repeating the information just obtained from the two missionaries: "They are much employed in hunting deer, *buffalo*, wild-cats, wolves, beaver and other

animals." There is no mention, however, of the missionaries crossing the Niagara, and they probably did not, but the presence of buffalo in the Canadian peninsula increases the likelihood of their sometimes visiting the banks of Buffalo creek.

Up to this time the Kahquahs had succeeded in maintaining their neutrality between the fierce belligerents on either side, though the Jesuit missionaries reported them as being more friendly to the Iroquois than to the Hurons. What cause of quarrel, if any, arose between the peaceful possessors of Erie county and their whilom friends, the powerful confederates to the eastward, is entirely unknown, but sometime during the next fifteen years the Iroquois fell upon both the Kahquahs and the Eries and exterminated them, as nations, from the face of the earth.

The precise years in which these events occurred are uncertain, nor is it known whether the Kahquahs or the Eries first felt the deadly anger of the Five Nations. French accounts favor the view that the Neuter Nation were first destroyed, while according to Seneca tradition the Kahquahs still dwelt here when the Iroquois annihilated the Eries. That tradition runs somewhat as follows:

The Eries had been jealous of the Iroquois from the time the latter formed their confederacy. About the time under consideration the Eries challenged their rivals to a grand game of ball, a hundred men on a side, for a heavy stake of furs and wampum. For two successive years the challenge was declined, but when it was again repeated it was accepted by the confederates, and their chosen hundred met their opponents near the site of the city of Buffalo.

They defeated the Eries in ball playing, and then the latter proposed a foot-race between ten of the fleetest young men on each side. Again the Iroquois were victorious. Then the Kahquahs, who resided near Eighteen-Mile creek, invited the contestants to their home. While there the chief of the Eries proposed a wrestling match between ten champions on each side, the victor in each match to have the privilege of knocking out his adversary's brains with his tomahawk. This challenge, too, was accepted, though, as the veracious Iroquois historians assert, with no intention of claiming the forfeit if successful.

In the first bout the Iroquois champion threw his antagonist, but declined to play the part of executioner. The chief of the Eries, infuriated by his champion's defeat, himself struck the unfortunate wrestler dead, as he lay supine where the victor had flung him. Another and another of the Eries was in the same way conquered by the Iroquois, and in the same way dispatched by his wrathful chief. By this time the Eries were in a state of terrific excitement, and the leader of the confederates, fearing an outbreak, ordered his followers to take up their march toward home, which they did with no further collision.

But the jealousy and hatred of the Eries was still more inflamed by defeat, and they soon laid a plan to surprise, and if possible destroy, the Iroquois. A Seneca woman, who had married among the Eries but was then a widow, fled to her own people and gave notice of the attack. Runners were at once sent out, and all the Iroquois were assembled and led forth to meet the invaders.

The two bodies met near Honeoye Lake, half-way between Canandaigua and the Genesee. After a terrible conflict the Eries were totally defeated, the flying remnants pursued to their homes by the victorious confederates, and the whole nation almost completely destroyed. It was five months before the Iroquois warriors returned from the deadly pursuit.

Afterwards a powerful party of the descendants of the Eries came from the far west to attack the Iroquois, but were utterly defeated and slain to a man, near the site of Buffalo, their bodies burned, and the ashes buried in a mound, lately visible, near the old Indian church, on the Buffalo Creek reservation.

Such is the tradition. It is a very nice story—for the Iroquois. It shows that their opponents were the aggressors throughout, that the young men of the Five Nations were invariably victorious in the athletic games, and that nothing but self-preservation induced them to destroy their enemies.

Nothing, of course, can be learned from such a story regarding the merits of the war. It tends to show, however, that the final battle between the combatants was fought near the territory of the Senecas, and that some at least of the Kahquahs were still living at the mouth of Eighteen-Mile creek at the time of the destruction of the Eries.

On the other hand, scattered French accounts go to show that the Kahquahs were destroyed first; that they joined the Iroquois in warfare against the Hurons, but were unable to avert their own fate; that collisions occurred between them and their allies of the Five Nations in 1647, and that open war broke out in 1650, resulting in the speedy destruction of the Kahquahs. Also that the Iroquois then swooped down upon the Eries, and exterminated them, about the year 1653. Some accounts make the destruction of the Neuter Nation as early as 1642.

Amid these conflicting statements it is only certain that some time between 1640 and 1655 the fierce confederates of Central New York "put out the fires" of the Kahquahs and the Eries. It is said that a few of the former tribe were absorbed into the community of their conquerors, and it is quite likely that some of both nations escaped to the westward, and, wandering there, inspired the tribes of that region with their own fear and hatred of the terrible Iroquois.

It is highly probable that the numerous iron hatchets which have been picked up in various parts of the county belonged to the unfortunate Kahquahs. They are undoubtedly of French manufacture, and similar instruments are used in Normandy to this day. Hundreds of them have been found in the valley of Cazenove creek and on the adjacent hills, a mile or two south of East Aurora village. Many more have been found in Hamburg, Boston and other parts of the county.

They are all made on substantially the same pattern, the blade being three or four inches wide on the edge, running back and narrowing slightly for about six inches, when the eye is formed by beating the bit out thin, rolling it over and welding it. Each is marked with the same device, namely, three small circles something less than an inch in diameter, each divided into four compartments, like a wheel with four spokes.

The Kahquahs were the only Indians who resided in Erie county while the French controlled the trade of this region, as the Senecas did not come here, at least in any numbers, until after the American Revolution. These hatchets would be convenient articles to trade for furs, and were doubtless used for that purpose. It is hardly probable that the Indians would have thrown away such valuable instruments in the numbers

which have since been found, except from compulsion, and the disaster which befell the Kahquahs at the hands of the Iroquois readily accounts for the abandonment of these weapons.

Some copper instruments have also been found, doubtless of similar origin, and, what is harder to account for, several stoned-up springs. Mr. John S. Wilson informs me that some thirty years ago he pushed over a partly rotten tree, over a foot in diameter, on his farm two miles south of East Aurora, and directly under it found a spring, well stoned up. There is no reliable account of Indians doing such work as that, and it is a fair supposition that it was done by some of the early French missionaries or traders.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

Their System of Clans.—Its Importance.—Its Probable Origin.—The Grand Council.—Sachems and War-chiefs.—Method of Descent.—Choice of Sachems.—Religion.—Natural Attributes.—Family Relations.

From the time of the destruction of the unfortunate Kahquahs down to the time the Iroquois sold to the Holland Land Company, those confederates were by right of conquest the actual possessors of the territory composing the present county of Erie, and a few years before making that sale the largest nation of the confederacy made their principal residence within the county. Within its borders, too, are still to be seen the largest united body of their descendants.

For all these two hundred and twenty-five years the Iroquois have been closely identified with the history of Erie county, and the beginning of this community of record forms a proper point at which to introduce an account of the interior structure of that remarkable confederacy, at which we have before taken but an outside glance.

It should be said here that the name "Iroquois" was never applied by the confederates to themselves. It was first used by the French, and, though said to have been formed from two Indian words, its meaning is veiled in obscurity. The men of the Five Nations called themselves "Hedonosaunee," which means literally, "They form a cabin;" describing in this expressive manner the close union existing among them. The Indian name just quoted is more liberally and more commonly rendered, "The People of the Long House;" which is more fully descriptive of the confederacy, though not quite so accurate a translation.

The central and unique characteristic of the Iroquois league was not the mere fact of five separate tribes being confederated together; for such unions have been frequent among civilized and half-civilized peoples, though little known among the sav-

ages of America. The feature that distinguished the People of the Long House from all the world beside, and which at the same time bound together all these ferocious warriors as with a living chain, was the system of *clans*, extending through all the different tribes.

Although this clan-system has been treated of in many works, there are, doubtless, thousands of readers who have often heard of the warlike success and outward greatness of the Iroquois confederacy, but are unacquainted with the inner league which was its distinguishing characteristic, and without which it would in all probability have met, at an early day, with the fate of numerous similar alliances.

The word "clan" has been adopted as the most convenient one to designate the peculiar artificial families about to be described, but the Iroquois clan was widely different from the Scottish one, all the members of which owed undivided allegiance to a single chief, for whom they were ready to fight against all the world. Yet "clan" is a much better word than "tribe," which is sometimes used, as that is the designation ordinarily applied to a separate Indian nation.

The people of the Iroquois confederacy were divided into eight clans, or families, the names of which were as follows: Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk. Accounts differ, some declaring that every clan extended through all the tribes, and others that only the Wolf, Bear and Turtle clans did so, the rest being restricted to a lesser number of tribes. It is certain, however, that each tribe, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas or Senecas, contained a part of the three clans named, and of several of the others.

Each clan formed a large artificial family, modeled on the natural family. All the members of the clan, no matter how widely separated among the tribes, were considered as brothers and sisters to each other, and were forbidden to intermarry. This prohibition, too, was strictly enforced by public opinion.

All the clan being thus taught from earliest infancy that they belonged to the same family, a bond of the strongest kind was created throughout the confederacy. The Oneida of the Wolf clan had no sooner appeared among the Cayugas, than those of the same clan claimed him as their special guest, and admitted

him to the most confidential intimacy. The Senecas of the Turtle clan might wander to the country of the Mohawks, at the farthest extremity of the Long House, and he had a claim upon his brother Turtles which they would not dream of repudiating.

Thus the whole confederacy was linked together. If at any time there appeared a tendency toward conflict between the different tribes, it was instantly checked by the thought that, if persisted in, the hand of the Heron must be lifted against his brother Heron; the hatchet of the Bear might be buried in the brain of his kinsman Bear. And so potent was the feeling that for at least two hundred years, and until the power of the league was broken by overwhelming outside force, there was no serious dissension between the tribes of the Iroquois.

It is quite probable that this system of clans was an entirely artificial but most skillful device, and was the work of some solitary forest-statesman, the predominant genius of his age. It has little of the appearance of a gradual growth, as will be seen by noticing some of the circumstances.

The names of the different nations of the confederacy, like those of other Indian tribes, have no uniformity of meaning, and were evidently adopted from time to time, as other names are adopted, from natural fitness. None of them were taken from any animal, and the adoption of the names of animals was never customary, so far as separate tribes of Indians were concerned. But the names of the clans are all taken from the animal creation—four beasts, three birds and a reptile; and this uniformity at once suggests that they were all applied at the same time. The uniqueness of the clan-system, too, tends to show that it was an artificial invention, expressly intended to prevent dissension among the confederates. Nothing like it has ever grown up among any other people in the world.

The Scotch, as has been said, had their clans, but these were merely the natural development of the original families. Although the members of each clan were all supposed to be more or less related, yet, instead of marriage being forbidden within their own limits, they rarely married outside of them. All the loyalty of the people was concentrated on their chief, and, instead of being bonds of union, so far as the nation at large was concerned, they were nurseries of faction.

The Romans had their *gens*, but these, too, were merely natural families increased by adoption, and, like the Scottish clans, instead of binding together dissevered sections, they served under the control of aspiring leaders as seed-plots of dissension and even of civil war. If one can imagine the Roman *gens* extending through all the nations of the Grecian confederacy, he will have an idea of the Iroquois system, and had such been the fact it is more than probable that that confederacy would have survived the era of its actual downfall.

Iroquois tradition ascribes the founding of the league to an Onondaga chieftain named Tadodahoh. Such traditions, however, are of very little value. A person of that name may or may not have founded the confederacy. He may have been the originator of the clan-system, which appears much more like the work of a single genius than does the league of tribes. This latter is most likely to have begun with two or three weak tribes, and to have increased in the natural manner by the addition of others.

Whether the Hedonosaunee were originally superior in valor and eloquence to their neighbors cannot now be ascertained. Probably not. But their talent for practical statesmanship gave them the advantage in war, and success made them self-confident and fearless. The business of the league was necessarily transacted in a congress of sachems, and this fostered oratorical powers, until at length the Iroquois were famous among a hundred rival nations for wisdom, courage and eloquence, and were justly denominated by Volney, "The Romans of the New World."

Aside from the clan-system just described, which was entirely unique, the Iroquois league had some resemblance to the great American Union which succeeded and overwhelmed it. The central authority was supreme on questions of peace and war, and on all others relating to the general welfare of the confederacy, while the tribes, like the States, reserved to themselves the management of their ordinary affairs.

In peace all power was confided to "sachems;" in war, to "chiefs." The sachems of each tribe acted as its rulers in the few matters which required the exercise of civil authority. These same rulers also met in congress to direct the affairs

of the confederacy. There were fifty in all, of whom the Mohawks had nine, the Oneidas nine, the Onondagas fourteen, the Cayugas ten, and the Senecas eight. These numbers, however, did not give proportionate power in the congress of the league, for all the nations were equal there.

There was in each tribe the same number of war-chiefs as sachems, and these had absolute authority in time of war. When a council assembled, each sachem had a war-chief standing behind him to execute his orders. But in a war party the war-chief commanded and the sachem took his place in the ranks. This was the system in its simplicity.

Some time after the arrival of the Europeans they seem to have fallen into the habit of electing chiefs—not war-chiefs—as counselors to the sachems, who in time acquired equality of power with them, and were considered as their equals by the whites in the making of treaties.

It is difficult to learn the truth regarding a political and social system which was not preserved by any written record. As near, however, as can be ascertained, the Onondagas had a certain preëminence in the councils of the league, at least to the extent of always furnishing a grand sachem, whose authority, however, was of a very shadowy description. It is not certain that he even presided in the congress of sachems. That congress, however, always met at the council-fire of the Onondagas. This was the natural result of their central position, the Mohawks and Oneidas being to the east of them, the Cayugas and Senecas to the west.

The Senecas were unquestionably the most powerful of all the tribes, and, as they were located at the western extremity of the confederacy, they had to bear the brunt of war when it was assailed by its most formidable foes, who dwelt in that quarter. It would naturally follow that the principal war-chief of the league should be of the Seneca Nation, and such is said to have been the case, though over this, too, hangs a shade of doubt.

As among many other savage tribes, the right of heirship was in the female line. A man's heirs were his brother (that is to say, his mother's son) and his sister's son; never his own son, nor his brother's son. The few articles which constituted an Indian's personal property, even his bow and tomahawk, never

descended to the son of him who had wielded them. Titles, so far as they were hereditary at all, followed the same law of descent. The child also followed the clan and tribe of the mother. The object was evidently to secure greater certainty that the heir would be of the blood of his deceased kinsman. It is not supposed to require near as wise a boy to know his mother as his father.

The result of the application of this rule to the Iroquois system of clans was that if a particular sachemship or chieftaincy was once established in a certain clan of a certain tribe, in that clan and tribe it was expected to remain forever. Exactly how it was filled when it became vacant is a matter of some doubt, but as near as can be learned it was done by the warriors of the clan, and then the person so chosen was "raised up" by the congress of sachems.

If, for instance, a sachemship belonging to the Wolf clan of the Seneca tribe became vacant, it could only be filled by some one of the Wolf clan of the Seneca tribe. A clan-council was called, and as a general rule the heir of the deceased was chosen to his place; to wit, one of his brothers, or one of his sister's sons, or even some more distant relative on the mother's side. But there was no positive law, and the warriors might discard all these and elect some one entirely unconnected with the deceased. A grand council of the confederacy was then called, at which the new sachem was formally "raised up," or as we should say, "inaugurated" in his office.

While there was no unchangeable custom compelling the clan-council to select one of the heirs of the deceased as his successor, yet the tendency was so strong in that direction that an infant was frequently selected, a guardian being appointed to perform the functions of the office till the youth should reach the proper age to do so.

Notwithstanding the modified system of hereditary power in vogue, the constitution of every tribe was essentially republican. Warriors, old men, and even women, attended the council, and made their influence felt. Neither in the government of the confederacy nor of the tribes was there any such thing as tyranny over the people, though there was plenty of tyranny by the league over conquered nations.

In fact there was very little government of any kind, and very little need of any. There were substantially no property interests to guard, all land being in common, and each man's personal property being limited to a bow, a tomahawk and a few deer skins. Liquor had not yet lent its disturbing influence, and few quarrels were to be traced to the influence of woman, for the American Indian is singularly free from the warmer passions. His principal vice is an easily-aroused and unlimited hatred, but the tribes were so small and enemies so convenient, that there was no difficulty in gratifying this feeling outside his own nation. The consequence was that the war-parties of the Iroquois were continually shedding the blood of their foes, but there was very little quarreling at home.

They do not appear to have had any class especially set apart for religious services, and their religious creed was limited to a somewhat vague belief in the existence of a "Great Spirit," and several inferior but very potent evil spirits. They had a few simple ceremonies, consisting largely of dances, one called the "green corn dance," performed at the time indicated by its name, and others at other seasons of the year. From a very early date their most important religious ceremony has been the "burning of the white dog," when an unfortunate canine of the requisite color is sacrificed by one of the chiefs. To this day the pagans among them still perform this rite.

Aside from their political wisdom, and the valor and eloquence developed by it, the Iroquois were not greatly different from the other Indians of North America. In common with their fellow-savages they have been termed "fast friends and bitter enemies." They were a great deal stronger enemies than friends. Revenge was the ruling passion of their nature, and cruelty was their abiding characteristic. Revenge and cruelty are the worst attributes of human nature, and it is idle to talk of the goodness of men who roasted their captives at the stake. All Indians were faithful to their own tribes, and the Iroquois were faithful to their confederacy, but outside these limits their friendship could not be counted on, and treachery was always to be apprehended in dealing with them.

In their family relations they were not harsh to their children, and not wantonly so to their wives, but the men were invariably

indolent, and all labor was contemptuously abandoned to the weaker sex. They were not an amorous race, but could hardly be called a moral one. They were in that respect merely apathetic. Their passions rarely led them into adultery, and mercenary prostitution was entirely unknown, but they were not sensitive on the question of purity, and readily permitted their maidens to form the most fleeting alliances with distinguished visitors.

Polygamy, too, was practiced, though in what might be called moderation. Chiefs and eminent warriors usually had two or three wives; rarely more. They could be divorced at will by their lords, but the latter seldom availed themselves of their privilege.

These latter characteristics the Iroquois had in common with the other Indians of North America, but their wonderful politico-social league and their extraordinary success in war were the especial attributes of the People of the Long House, for a hundred and thirty years the masters, and for more than two centuries the occupants, of the county of Erie.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1655 TO 1679.

The Iroquois triumphant.—Obliteration of Dutch Power.—French Progress.—La Salle visits the Senecas.—Greenhalph's Estimates.—La Salle on the Niagara.—Building of the Griffin.—It enters Lake Erie.—La Salle's Subsequent Career.—The Prospect in 1679.

From the time of the destruction of the Kahquahs and Eries the Iroquois lords of Erie county went forth conquering and to conquer. This was probably the day of their greatest glory. Stimulated but not yet crushed by contact with the white man, they stayed the progress of the French into their territories, they negotiated on equal terms with the Dutch and English, and, having supplied themselves with the terrible arms of the pale-faces, they smote with direst vengeance whomsoever of their own race were so unfortunate as to provoke their wrath.

On the Susquehanna, on the Allegany, on the Ohio, even to the Mississippi in the west and the Savannah in the south, the Iroquois bore their conquering arms, filling with terror the dwellers alike on the plains of Illinois and in the glades of Carolina. They strode over the bones of the slaughtered Kahquahs to new conquests on the great lakes beyond, even to the foaming cascades of Michillimacinac, and the shores of the mighty Superior. They inflicted such terrible defeat upon the Hurons, despite the alliance of the latter with the French, that many of the conquered nation sought safety on the frozen borders of Hudson's Bay. In short, they triumphed on every side, save only where the white man came, and even the white man was for a time held at bay by these fierce confederates.

Of the three rivals, the French and Dutch opened a great fur-trade with the Indians, while the New Englanders devoted themselves principally to agriculture. In 1664, the English conquered New Amsterdam, and in 1670 their conquest was made permanent. Thus the three competitors for empire were reduced to two. The Dutch Lepidus of the triumvirate was gotten rid of,

and henceforth the contest was to be between the Anglo-Saxon Octavius and the Gallic Antony.

Charles the Second, then King of England, granted the conquered province to his brother James, Duke of York, from whom it was called New York. This grant comprised all the lands along the Hudson, with an indefinite amount westward, thus overlapping the previous grant of James the First to the Plymouth Company, and the boundaries of Massachusetts by the charter of Charles the First, and laying the foundation for a conflict of jurisdiction which was afterwards to have important effects on the destinies of Western New York.

The French, if poor farmers, were indefatigable fur-traders and missionaries; but their priests and fur-buyers mostly pursued a route north of this locality, for here the fierce Senecas guarded the shores of the Niagara, and they like all the rest of the Iroquois were ever unfriendly, if not actively hostile, to the French. By 1665, trading-posts had been established at Michillimacinac, Green Bay, Chicago and St. Joseph, but the route past the falls of Niagara was seldom traversed, and then only by the most adventurous of the French traders, the most devoted of the Catholic missionaries.

But a new era was approaching. Louis the Fourteenth was king of France, and his great minister, Colbert, was anxious to extend the power of his royal master over the unknown regions of North America. In 1669, La Salle, whose name was soon to be indissolubly united to the annals of Erie county, visited the Senecas with only two companions, finding their four principal villages from ten to twenty miles southerly from Rochester, scattered over portions of the present counties of Monroe, Livingston and Ontario.

In 1673, the missionaries Marquette and Joliet pushed on beyond the farthest French posts, and erected the emblem of Christian salvation on the shore of the Father of Waters.

In 1677, Wentworth Greenhalph, an Englishman, visited all the Five Nations, finding the same four towns of the Senecas described by the companions of La Salle. Greenhalph made very minute observations, counting the houses of the Indians, and reported the Mohawks as having three hundred warriors, the Oneidas two hundred, the Onondagas three hundred and

fifty, the Cayugas three hundred, and the Senecas a thousand. It will be seen that the Senecas, the guardians of the western door of the Long House, numbered, according to Greenhalph's computation, nearly as many as all the other tribes of the confederacy combined, and other accounts show that he was not far from correct.

In the month of January, 1679, there arrived at the mouth of the Niagara Robert Cavalier de La Salle, a Frenchman of good family, thirty-five years of age, and one of the most gallant, devoted and adventurous of all the bold explorers who under many different banners opened the new world to the knowledge of the old. Leaving his native Rouen at the age of twenty-two, he had ever since been leading a life of adventure in America, having in 1669, as already mentioned, penetrated almost alone to the strongholds of the Senecas. In 1678, he had received from King Louis a commission to discover the western part of New France. He was authorized to build such forts as might be necessary, but at his own expense, being granted certain privileges in return, the principal of which appears to have been the right to trade in buffalo skins. The same year he had made some preparations, and in the fall had sent the Sieur de La Motte and Father Hennepin (the priest and historian of his expedition) in advance, to the mouth of the Niagara. La Motte soon returned.

As soon as La Salle arrived, he went two leagues above the Falls, built a rude dock, and laid the keel of a vessel with which to navigate the upper lakes. Strangely enough Hennepin does not state on which bank of the Niagara this dock was situated, but it is deemed certain by those who have examined the question, especially by O. H. Marshall, Esq., the best authority in the county on matters of early local history, that it was on the east side, at the mouth of Cayuga creek, in Niagara county, and in accordance with that view the little village which has been laid out there has received the appellation of "La Salle."

Hennepin distinctly mentions a small village of Senecas situated at the mouth of the Niagara, and it is plain from his whole narrative that the Iroquois were in possession of the entire country along the river, and watched the movement with unceasing jealousy.

The work was carried on through the winter, two Indians of the Wolf clan of the Senecas being employed to hunt deer for the French party, and in the spring the vessel was launched, "after having," in the words of Father Hennepin, "been blessed according to the rites of our Church of Rome." The new ship was named "Le Griffon" (The Griffin) in compliment to the Count de Frontenac, minister of the French colonies, whose coat of arms was ornamented with representations of that mythical beast.

For several months the Griffin remained in the Niagara, between the place where it was built and the rapids at the head of the river. Meanwhile Father Hennepin returned to Fort Frontenac (now Kingston) and obtained two priestly assistants, and La Salle superintended the removal of the armament and stores from below the Falls.

When all was ready the attempt was made, and several times repeated, to ascend the rapids above Black Rock, but without success. At length, on the seventh day of August, 1679, a favorable wind sprung up from the northeast, all the Griffin's sails were set, and again it approached the troublesome rapids.

It was a dimunitive vessel compared with the leviathans of the deep which now navigate these inland seas, but was a marvel in view of the difficulties under which it had been built. It was of sixty tons burthen, completely furnished with anchors and other equipments, and armed with seven small cannon, all of which had been transported by hand around the cataract.

There were thirty-four men on board the Griffin, all Frenchmen with a single exception.

There was the intrepid La Salle, a blue-eyed, fair-faced, ringleted cavalier, a man fitted to grace the *salons* of Paris, yet now eagerly pressing forward to dare the hardships of unknown seas and savage lands. A born leader of men, a heroic subduer of nature, the gallant Frenchman for a brief time passes along the border of our county, and then disappears in the western wilds where he was eventually to find a grave.

There was Tonti, the solitary alien amid that Gallic band, exiled by revolution from his native Italy, who had been chosen by La Salle as second in command, and who justified the choice by his unswerving courage and devoted loyalty. There, too, was

Father Hennepin, the earliest historian of these regions, one of the most zealous of all the zealous band of Catholic priests who, at that period, undauntedly bore the cross amid the fiercest pagans in America. Attired in priestly robes, having with him his movable chapel, and attended by his two coadjutors, Father Hennepin was ready at any time to perform the rites of his Church, or to share the severest hardships of his comrades.

As the little vessel approached the rapids a dozen stalwart sailors were sent ashore with a tow-line, and aided with all their strength the breeze which blew from the north. Meanwhile a crowd of Iroquois warriors had assembled on the shore, together with many captives whom they had brought from the distant prairies of the West. These watched eagerly the efforts of the pale-faces, with half-admiring and half-jealous eyes.

Those efforts were soon successful. By the aid of sails and tow-line the Griffin surmounted the rapids, all the crew went on board, and the pioneer vessel of these waters swept out on to the bosom of Lake Erie. As it did so the priests led in singing a joyous *Te Deum*, all the cannon and arquebuses were fired in a grand salute, and even the stoical sons of the forest, watching from the shore, gave evidence of their admiration by repeated cries of "Gannoron! Gannoron!" Wonderful! Wonderful!

This was the beginning of the commerce of the upper lakes, and like many another first venture it resulted only in disaster to its projectors, though the harbinger of unbounded success by others. The Griffin went to Green Bay, where La Salle and Hennepin left it, started on its return with a cargo of furs, and was never heard of more. It is supposed that it sank in a storm and that all on board perished.

La Salle was not afterwards identified with the history of Erie county, but his chivalric achievements and tragic fate have still such power to stir the pulse and enlist the feelings that one can hardly refrain from a brief mention of his subsequent career. After the Griffin had sailed, La Salle and Hennepin went in canoes to the head of Lake Michigan. Thence, after building a trading-post and waiting many weary months for the return of his vessel, he went with thirty followers to Lake Peoria on the Illinois, where he built a fort and gave it the expressive name of "Creve Cœur"—Broken Heart. But notwithstanding this

expression of despair his courage was far from exhausted, and, after sending Hennepin to explore the Mississippi, he with three comrades performed the remarkable feat of returning to Fort Frontenac on foot, depending on their guns for support.

From Fort Frontenac he returned to Creve Cœur, the garrison of which had in the meantime been driven away by the Indians. Again the indomitable La Salle gathered his followers, and in the fore part of 1682 descended the Mississippi to the sea, being the first European to explore any considerable portion of that mighty stream. He took possession of the country in the name of King Louis the Fourteenth, and called it Louisiana.

Returning to France he astonished and gratified the court with the story of his discoveries, and in 1684 was furnished with a fleet and several hundred men to colonize the new domain. Then every thing went wrong. The fleet, through the blunders of its naval commander, went to Matagorda bay, in Texas. The store-ship was wrecked, the fleet returned, La Salle failed in an attempt to find the mouth of the Mississippi, his colony dwindled away through desertion and death to forty men, and at length he started with sixteen of these, on foot, to return to Canada for assistance. Even in this little band there were those that hated him, (possibly he was a man of somewhat imperious nature,) and ere he had reached the Sabine he was murdered by two of his followers, and left unburied upon the prairie.

A lofty, if somewhat haughty spirit, France knows him as the man who added Louisiana and Texas to her empire, the Mississippi Valley reveres him as the first explorer of its great river, but by the citizens of this county he will best be remembered as the pioneer navigator of Lake Erie.

The adventurous Frenchman doubtless supposed, when he steered the Griffin into that vast inland sea, that he was opening it solely to French commerce, and was preparing its shores for French occupancy. He had ample reason for the supposition. Communication with the French in Lower Canada was much easier than with the Anglo-Dutch province on the Hudson, and thus far the opportunities of the former had been diligently improved.

Had La Salle then climbed the bluff which overlooks the transformation of the mighty Erie into the rushing Niagara,

and attempted to foretell the destiny of lake and land for the next two centuries, he would without doubt, and with good reason, have mentally given the dominion of both land and lake to the sovereigns of France. He would have seen in his mind's eye the plains that extended eastward dotted with the cottages of French peasants, while here and there among them towered the proud mansions of their baronial masters. He would have imagined the lake white with the sails of hundreds of vessels flying the flag of Gallic kings, and bearing the products of their subjects from still remoter regions, and he would perchance have pictured at his feet a splendid city, reproducing the tall gables of Rouen and the elegant facades of Paris, its streets gay with the vivacious language of France, its cross-capped churches sheltering only the stately ceremonies of Rome.

But a far different destiny was in store for our county, due partly to the chances of war, and partly to the subtle characteristics of race, which make of the Gaul a good explorer but a bad colonizer, while the Anglo-Saxon is ever ready to identify himself with the land to which he may roam.

CHAPTER VII.

FRENCH DOMINION.

A Slight Ascendency.—De Nonville's Assault.—Origin of Fort Niagara.—La Hontan's Expedition.—The Peace of Ryswick.—Queen Anne's War.—The Iroquois Neutral.—The Tuscaroras.—Joncaire.—Fort Niagara Rebuilt.—French Power Increasing.—Successive Wars.—The Line of Posts.—The Final Struggle.—The Expedition of D'Aubrey.—The Result.—The Surrender of Canada.

For the next forty-five years after the adventures of La Salle, the French maintained a general but not very substantial ascendency in this region. Their voyageurs traded and their missionaries labored here, and their soldiers sometimes made incursions, but they had no permanent fortress this side of Fort Frontenac (Kingston) and they were constantly in danger from their enemies, the Hedonosaunee.

In 1687, the Marquis de Nonville, governor of New France, arrived at Irondiquoit bay, a few miles east of Rochester, with nearly two thousand Frenchmen and some five hundred Indian allies, and marched at once against the Seneca villages, situated as has been stated in the vicinity of Victor and Avon. The Senecas attacked him on his way, and were defeated, as well they might be, considering that the largest estimate gives them but eight hundred warriors, the rest of the confederates not having arrived.

The Senecas burned their villages and fled to the Cayugas. De Nonville destroyed their stores of corn and retired, after going through the form of taking possession of the country. The supplies thus destroyed were immediately replenished by the other confederates, and De Nonville accomplished little except still further to enrage the Iroquois. The Senecas, however, determined to seek a home less accessible from the waters of Lake Ontario, and accordingly located their principal villages at Geneva, and on the Genesee above Avon.

De Nonville then sailed to the mouth of the Niagara, where

he erected a small fort on the east side of the river. This was the origin of Fort Niagara, one of the most celebrated strongholds in America, and which, though a while abandoned, was afterwards for a long time considered the key of Western New York.

From the new fortress De Nonville sent the Baron La Hontan, with a small detachment of French, to escort the Indian allies to their western homes. They made the necessary portage around the Falls, rowed up the Niagara to Buffalo, and thence coasted along the northern shore of the lake in their canoes. All along up the river they were closely watched by the enraged Iroquois, but were too strong and too vigilant to permit an attack.

Ere long the governor returned to Montreal, leaving a small garrison at Fort Niagara. These suffered so severely from sickness that the fort was soon abandoned, and it does not appear to have been again occupied for nearly forty years.

In fact, at this period the fortunes of France in North America were brought very low. The Iroquois ravaged a part of the island of Montreal, compelled the abandonment of Forts Frontenac and Niagara, and alone proved almost sufficient to overthrow the French dominion in Canada.

The English revolution of 1688, by which James the Second was driven from the throne, was speedily followed by open war with France. In 1689, the Count de Frontenac, the same energetic old peer who had encouraged La Salle in his brilliant discoveries, and whose name was for a while borne by Lake Ontario, was sent out as governor of New France. This vigorous but cruel leader partially retrieved the desperate condition of the French colony. He, too, invaded the Iroquois, but accomplished no more than De Nonville.

The war continued with varying fortunes until 1697, the Five Nations being all that while the friends of the English, and most of the time engaged in active hostilities against the French. Their authority over the whole west bank of the Niagara, and far up the south side of Lake Erie, was unbroken, save when a detachment of French troops was actually marching along the shore.

At the treaty of Ryswick in 1797, while the ownership of

other lands was definitely conceded to France and England respectively, that of Western New York was left undecided. The English claimed sovereignty over all the lands of the Five Nations, the French with equal energy asserted the authority of King Louis, while the Hedonosaunee themselves, whenever they heard of the controversy, repudiated alike the pretensions of Yonnondio and Corlear, as they denominated the governors respectively of Canada and New York.

So far as Erie county was concerned, they could base their claim on the good old plea that they had killed all its previous occupants, and as neither the English nor French had succeeded in killing the Iroquois, the title of the latter still held good. In legal language they were "in possession," and "adverse possession" at that.

Scarcely had the echoes of battle died away after the peace of Ryswick, when, in 1702, the rival nations plunged into the long conflict known as "Queen Anne's War." But by this time the Iroquois had grown wiser, and prudently maintained their neutrality, commanding the respect of both French and English. The former were wary of again provoking the powerful confederates, and the government of the colony of New York was very willing that the Five Nations should remain neutral, as they thus furnished a shield against French and Indian attacks for the whole frontier of the colony.

But, meanwhile, through all the western country the French extended their influence. Detroit was founded in 1701. Other posts were established far and wide. Nothwithstanding their alliance with the Hurons and other foes of the Iroquois, and notwithstanding the enmity aroused by the invasions of Champlain, De Nonville and Frontenac, such was the subtle skill of the French that they rapidly acquired a strong influence among the western tribes of the confederacy, especially the Senecas. Even the wonderful socio-political system of the Hedonosaunee weakened under the influence of European intrigue, and while the Eastern Iroquois, though preserving their neutrality, were friendly to the English, the Senecas, and perhaps the Cayugas, were almost ready to take up arms for the French.

About 1712, an important event occurred in the history of the Hedonosaunee. The Five Nations became the Six Nations.

The Tuscaroras, a powerful tribe of North Carolina, had become involved in a war with the whites, originating as usual in a dispute about land. The colonists being aided by several other tribes, the Tuscaroras were soon defeated, many of them killed, and many others captured and sold as slaves. The greater part of the remainder fled northward to the Iroquois, who immediately adopted them as one of the tribes of the confederacy, assigning them a seat near the Oneidas. The readiness of those haughty warriors to extend the valuable shelter of the Long House over a band of fleeing exiles is probably due to the fact that they had been the allies of the Iroquois against other Southern Indians, which would also account for the eagerness of the latter to join the whites in the overthrow of the Tuscaroras.

Not long after this, one Chabert Joncaire, a Frenchman who had been captured in youth by the Senecas, who had been adopted into their tribe and had married a Seneca wife, but who had been released at the treaty of peace, was employed by the French authorities to promote their influence among the Iroquois. Pleading his claims as an adopted child of the nation, he was allowed by the Seneca chiefs to build a cabin on the site of Lewiston, which soon became a center of French influence.

All the efforts of the English were impotent either to dislodge him or to obtain a similar privilege for any of their own people. "Joncaire is a child of the nation," was the sole reply vouchsafed to every complaint. Though Fort Niagara was for the time abandoned, and no regular fort was built at Lewiston, yet Joncaire's trading-post embraced a considerable group of cabins, and at least a part of the time a detachment of French soldiers was stationed there. Thus the active Gauls kept up communication with their posts in the West, and maintained at least a slight ascendency over the territory which is the subject of this history.

About 1725, they began rebuilding Fort Niagara, on the site where De Nonville had erected his fortress. They did so without opposition, though it seems strange that they could so easily have allayed the jealousy of the Six Nations. It may be presumed, however, that the very fact of the French being such poor colonizers worked to their advantage in establishing a certain kind of influence among the Indians.

Few of them being desirous of engaging in agriculture, they made little effort to obtain land, while the English were constantly arousing the jealousy of the natives by obtaining enormous grants from some of the chiefs, often doubtless by very dubious methods. Moreover, the French have always possessed a peculiar facility for assimilating with savage and half-civilized races, and thus gaining an influence over them.

Whatever the cause, the power of the French constantly increased among the Senecas. Fort Niagara was their stronghold, and Erie county with the rest of Western New York was, for over thirty years, to a very great extent under their control. The influence of Joncaire was maintained and increased by his sons, Chabert and Clauzonne Joncaire, all through the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

In the war between England and France, begun in 1744 and closed by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, the Six Nations generally maintained their neutrality, though the Mohawks gave some aid to the English. During the eight years of nominal peace which succeeded that treaty, both nations were making constant efforts to extend their dominion beyond their frontier settlements, the French with the more success. To Niagara, Detroit and other posts they added Presque Isle, (now Erie,) Venango, and finally Fort Du Quesne on the site of Pittsburg; designing to establish a line of forts from the lakes to the Ohio, and thence down that river to the Mississippi.

Frequent detachments of troops passed through along this line. Their course was up the Niagara to Buffalo, thence either by batteaux up the lake, or on foot along the shore, to Erie, and thence to Venango and Du Quesne. Gaily dressed French officers sped backward and forward, attended by the feathered warriors of their allied tribes, and not unfrequently by the Senecas. Dark-gowned Jesuits hastened to and fro, everywhere receiving the respect of the red men, even when their creed was rejected, and using all their art to magnify the power of both Rome and France.

It is possible that the whole Iroquois confederacy would have been induced to become active partisans of the French, had it not been for one man, the skillful English superintendent of Indian affairs, soon to be known as Sir William Johnson. He,

having in 1734 been sent to America as the agent of his uncle, a great landholder in the valley of the Mohawk, had gained almost unbounded influence over the Mohawks by integrity in dealing and native shrewdness, combined with a certain coarseness of nature which readily affiliated with them. He had made his power felt throughout the whole confederacy, and had been intrusted by the British government with the management of its relations with the Six Nations.

In 1756, after two years of open hostilities in America, and several important conflicts, war was again declared between England and France, being their last great struggle for supremacy in the new world. The ferment in the wilderness grew more earnest. More frequently sped the gay officers and soldiers of King Louis from Quebec, and Frontenac, and Niagara, now in batteaux, now on foot, along the western border of our county; staying perchance to hold a council with the Seneca sachems, then hurrying forward to strengthen the feeble line of posts on which so much depended. In this war the Mohawks were persuaded by Sir William Johnson to take the field in favor of the English. But the Senecas were friendly to the French, and were only restrained from taking up arms for them by unwillingness to fight their Iroquois brethren, who were allies of the English.

At first the French were everywhere victorious. Braddock, almost at the gates of Fort Du Quesne, was slain, and his army cut in pieces, by a force utterly contemptible in comparison with his own. Montcalm captured Oswego. The French line up the lakes and across to the Ohio was stronger than ever.

But in 1858 William Pitt became prime minister, and then England flung herself in deadly earnest into the contest. That year Fort Du Quesne was captured by an English and provincial army, its garrison having retreated. Northward, Fort Frontenac was seized by Col. Bradstreet, and other victories prepared the way for the grand success of 1859. The cordon was broken, but Fort Niagara still held out for France, still the messengers ran backward and forward, to and from Presque Isle and Venango, still the Senecas strongly declared their friendship for Yonnondio and Yonnondio's royal master.

In 1759, yet heavier blows were struck. Wolfe assailed Quebec, the strongest of all the French strongholds. Almost at the

same time Gen. Prideaux, with two thousand British and provincials, accompanied by Sir William Johnson with one thousand of his faithful Iroquois, sailed up Lake Ontario and laid siege to Fort Niagara. Defended by only six hundred men, its capture was certain unless relief could be obtained.

Its commander was not idle. Once again along the Niagara, and up Lake Erie, and away through the forest, sped his lithe, red-skinned messengers to summon the sons and the allies of France. D'Aubrey, at Venango, heard the call and responded with his most zealous endeavors. Gathering all the troops he could from far and near, stripping bare with desperate energy the little French posts of the West, and mustering every red man he could persuade to follow his banners, he set forth to relieve Niagara.

Thus it was that about the 20th of July, 1759, while the English army was still camped around the walls of Quebec, while Wolfe and Montcalm were approaching that common grave to which the path of glory was so soon to lead them, a stirring scene took place on the western borders of our county. The largest European force which had yet been seen in this region at any one time came coasting down the lake from Presque Isle, past the mouth of the Cattaraugus, and along the shores of Brant, and Evans, and Hamburg, to the mouth of the limpid Buffalo. Fifty or sixty batteaux bore near a thousand Frenchmen on their mission of relief, while a long line of canoes were freighted with four hundred of the dusky warriors of the West.

A motley yet gallant band it was which then hastened along our shores, on the desperate service of sustaining the failing fortunes of France. Gay young officers from the court of the Grand Monarque sat side by side with sunburned trappers, whose feet had trodden every mountain and prairie from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. Veterans who had won laurels under the marshals of France were comrades of those who knew no other foe than the Iroquois and the Delawares.

One boat was filled with soldiers trained to obey with unquestioning fidelity every word of their leaders; another contained only wild savages, who scarce acknowledged any other law than their own fierce will. Here flashed swords and bayonets and brave attire, there appeared the dark rifles and buckskin gar-

ments of the hardy hunters, while, still further on, the tomahawks and scalping-knives and naked bodies of Ottawa and Huron braves glistened in the July sun.

There were some, too, among the younger men, who might fairly have taken their places in either batteau or canoe; whose features bore unmistakable evidence of the commingling of diverse races; who might perchance have justly claimed kindred with barons and chevaliers then resplendent in the *salons* of Paris, but who had drawn their infant nourishment from the breasts of dusky mothers, as they rested from hoeing corn on the banks of the Ohio.

History has preserved but a slight record of this last struggle of the French for dominion in these regions, but it has rescued from oblivion the names of D'Aubrey, the commander, and De Lignery, his second; of Monsieur Marini, the leader of the Indians; and of the captains De Villie, Repentini, Martini and Basonc.

They were by no means despondent. The command contained many of the same men, both white and red, who had slaughtered the unlucky battalions of Braddock only two years before, and they might well hope that some similar turn of fortune would yet give them another victory over the foes of France.

The Seneca warriors, snuffing the battle from their homes on the Genesee and beyond, were roaming restlessly through Erie and Niagara counties, and along the shores of the river, uncertain how to act, more friendly to the French than the English, and yet unwilling to engage in conflict with their brethren of the Six Nations.

Hardly pausing to communicate with these doubtful friends, D'Aubrey led his flotilla past the pleasant groves whose place is now occupied by a great commercial emporium, hurried by the tall bluff now crowned by the battlements of Fort Porter, dashed down the rapids, swept on in his eager course untroubled by the piers of any International bridge, startled the deer from their lairs on the banks of Grand Island, and only halted on reaching the shores of Navy Island.

Being then beyond the borders of Erie county, I can give the remainder of his expedition but the briefest mention. After staying at Navy Island a day or two to communicate with the

fort, he passed over to the mainland and confidently marched forward to battle. But Sir William Johnson, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Prideaux, was not the kind of man likely to meet the fate of Braddock.

Apprised of the approach of the French, he retained men enough before the fort to prevent an outbreak of the garrison, and stationed the rest in an advantageous position on the east side of the Niagara, just below the whirlpool. After a battle an hour long the French were utterly routed, several hundred being slain on the field, and a large part of the remainder being captured, including the wounded D'Aubrey.

On the receipt of these disastrous news the garrison at once surrendered. The control of the Niagara river, which had been in the hands of the French for over a hundred years, passed into those of the English. For a little while the French held possession of their fort at Schlosser, and even repulsed an English force sent against it. Becoming satisfied, however, that they could not withstand their powerful foe, they determined to destroy their two armed vessels, laden with military stores. They accordingly took them into an arm of the river, separating Buckhorn from Grand Island, at the very northwesternmost limit of Erie county, burned them to the water's edge, and sunk the hulls. The remains of these hulls, nearly covered with mud and sand, are still, or were lately, to be seen in the shallow water where they sank, and the name of "Burnt Ship Bay" perpetuates the naval sacrifice of the defeated Gauls.

Soon the life-bought victory of Wolfe gave Quebec to the triumphant Britons. Still the French clung to their colonies with desperate but failing grasp, and it was not until September, 1760, that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor general of Canada, surrendered Montreal, and with it Detroit, Venango, and all the other posts within his jurisdiction. This surrender was ratified by the treaty of peace between England and France in February, 1763, which ceded Canada to the former power.

The struggle was over. The English Octavius had defeated the Gallic Antony. Forever destroyed was the prospect of a French peasantry inhabiting the plains of Erie county, of baronial castles crowning its vine-clad heights, of a gay French city overlooking the mighty lake and the renowned river.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLISH DOMINION.

Pontiac's League.—The Senecas Hostile.—The Devil's Hole.—Battle near Buffalo.—Treaty at Niagara.—Bradstreet's Expedition.—Israel Putnam.—Lake Commerce.—Wreck of the Beaver.—Tryon County.

Notwithstanding the disappearance of the French soldiers, the western tribes still remembered them with affection, and were still disposed to wage war upon the English. The celebrated Pontiac united nearly all these tribes in a league against the red-coats, immediately after the advent of the latter, and as no such confederation had been formed against the French, during all their long years of possession, his action must be assigned to some cause other than mere hatred of all civilized intruders.

In May, 1863, the league surprised nine out of twelve English posts, and massacred their garrisons. Detroit, Pittsburg and Niagara alone escaped surprise, and each successfully resisted a siege, in which branch of war, indeed, the Indians were almost certain to fail. There is no positive evidence, but there is little doubt that the Senecas were involved in Pontiac's league, and were active in the attack on Fort Niagara. They had been unwilling to fight their brethren of the Long House, under Sir William Johnson, but had no scruples about killing the English when left alone, as was soon made terribly manifest.

In the September following occurred the awful tragedy of the Devil's Hole, when a band of Senecas, of whom Honayewus, afterwards celebrated as Farmer's Brother, was one, and Cornplanter probably another, ambushed a train of English army-wagons, with an escort of soldiers, the whole numbering ninety-six men, three and a half miles below the Falls, and massacred every man with four exceptions.

A few weeks later, on the 19th of October, 1763, there occurred the first hostile conflict in Erie county of which there is any record, in which white men took part. It is said to have been

at the "east end of Lake Erie," but was probably on the river just below the lake, as there would be no chance for ambushing boats on the lake shore.

Six hundred British soldiers, under one Major Wilkins, were on their way in boats to reinforce their comrades in Detroit. As they approached the lake, a hundred and sixty of them, who were half a mile astern of the others, were suddenly fired on by a band of Senecas, ensconced in a thicket on the river shore, probably on the site of Black Rock. Though even the British estimated the enemy at only sixty, yet so close was their aim that thirteen men were killed and wounded at the first fire. The captain in command of the nearest boats immediately ordered fifty men ashore, and attacked the Indians. The latter fell back a short distance, but rallied, and when the British pursued them they maintained their ground so well that three more men were killed on the spot, and twelve others badly wounded, including two commissioned officers. Meanwhile, under the protection of other soldiers, who formed on the beach, the boats made their way into the lake, and were joined by the men who had taken part in the fight. It does not appear that the Indians suffered near as heavily as the English.

This was the last serious attack by the Senecas upon the English. Becoming at length convinced that the French had really yielded, and that Pontiac's scheme had failed as to its main purpose, they sullenly agreed to abandon Yonnondio, and be at peace with Corlear.

In April, 1764, Sir William Johnson concluded peace with eight chiefs of the Senecas, at Johnson's Hall. At that time, among other agreements, they formally conveyed to the king of England a tract fourteen miles by four, for a carrying place around Niagara Falls, lying on both sides of the river from Schlosser to Lake Ontario. This was the origin of the policy of reserving a strip of land along the river, which was afterwards carried out by the United States and the State of New York.

This treaty was to be more fully ratified at a council to be held at Fort Niagara in the summer of 1764. Events in the West, where Pontiac still maintained active but unavailing hostility to the British, as well as the massacres previously perpetrated by the Senecas, determined the English commander-

in-chief to send a force up the lakes able to overcome all opposition.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1764, Gen. Bradstreet, an able officer, with twelve hundred British and Americans, came by water to Fort Niagara, accompanied by the indefatigable Sir William Johnson and a body of his Iroquois warriors. A grand council of friendly Indians was held at the fort, among whom Sir William exercised his customary skill, and satisfactory treaties were made with them.

But the Senecas, though repeatedly promising attendance in answer to the baronet's messages, still held aloof, and were said to be meditating a renewal of the war. At length Gen. Bradstreet ordered their immediate attendance, under penalty of the destruction of their settlements. They came, ratified the treaty, and thenceforward adhered to it pretty faithfully, notwithstanding the peremptory manner in which it was obtained. In the meantime a fort had been erected on the site of Fort Erie, the first ever built there.

In August Bradstreet's army, increased to nearly three thousand men, among whom were three hundred Senecas, (who seem to have been taken along partly as hostages,) came up the river to the site of Buffalo. Thence they proceeded up the south side of the lake, for the purpose of bringing the western Indians to terms, a task which was successfully accomplished without bloodshed. From the somewhat indefinite accounts which have come down to us, it is evident that the journey was made in open boats, rigged with sails, in which, when the wind was favorable, excellent speed was made.

Bradstreet's force, like D'Aubrey's, was a somewhat motley one. There were stalwart, red-coated regulars, who, when they marched, did so as one man; hardy New England militia, whose dress and discipline and military maneuvers were but a poor imitation of the regulars, yet who had faced the legions of France on many a well-fought field; rude hunters of the border, to whom all discipline was irksome; faithful Indian allies from the Mohawk valley, trained to admiration of the English by Sir William Johnson; and finally the three hundred scowling Senecas, their hands red from the massacre of the Devil's Hole, and almost ready to stain them again with English blood.

Of the British and Americans, who then in closest friendship and under the same banners passed along the western border of Erie county, there were not a few who in twelve years more were destined to seek each others lives on the blood-stained battle-fields of the Revolution. Among them was one whose name was a tower of strength to the patriots of America, whose voice rallied the faltering soldiers of Bunker Hill, and whose fame has come down to us surrounded by a peculiar halo of adventurous valor. This was Israel Putnam, then a loyal soldier of King George, and lieutenant colonel of the Connecticut battalion.

For a while, however, there was peace, not only between England and France, but between the Indians and the colonists. The Iroquois, though the seeds of dissension had been sown among them, were still a powerful confederacy, and their war-parties occasionally made incursions among the western Indians, striding over the plains of Erie county as they went, and returning by the same route with their scalps and prisoners.

Hither, too, came detachments of red-coated Britons, coming up the Niagara, usually landing at Fort Erie, where a post was all the while maintained, and going thence in open boats to Detroit, Mackinaw, and other western forts. It was not absolutely necessary to come this way to reach Pittsburgh, since the British base of supplies was not, like that of the French, confined to the St. Lawrence, but included Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Along the borders of Erie county, too, went all the commerce of the upper lakes, consisting of supplies for the military posts, goods to trade with the Indians, and the furs received in return. The trade was carried on almost entirely in open boats, propelled by oars, with the occasional aid of a temporary sail. In good weather tolerable progress could be made, but woe to any of these frail craft which might be overtaken by a storm.

The New York Gazette, in February, 1770, informed its readers that several boats had been lost in crossing Lake Erie, and that the distress of the crews was so great that they were obliged to keep two human bodies found on the north shore, so as to kill for food the ravens and eagles which came to feed on the corpses. This remarkable narrative of what may be called second-hand cannibalism, gives a startling picture of the hardships at that time attending commercial operations on Lake Erie.

Other boats were mentioned at the same time as frozen up or lost, but nothing is said as to sail-vessels. There were, however, at least two or three English trading vessels on Lake Erie before the Revolution, and probably one or two armed vessels belonging to the British government. One of the former, called the Beaver, is known to have been lost in a storm, and is believed by the best authorities to have been wrecked near the mouth of Eighteen-Mile creek, and to have furnished the relics found in that vicinity by early settlers, which by some have been attributed to the ill-fated Griffin.

The Senecas made frequent complaints of depredations committed by whites on some of their number, who had villages on the head waters of the Susquehanna and Ohio. "Cressap's war," in which the celebrated Logan was an actor, contributed to render them uneasy, but they did not break out in open hostilities. They, like the rest of the Six Nations, had by this time learned to place implicit confidence in Sir William Johnson, and made all their complaints through him.

He did his best to redress their grievances, and also sought to have them withdraw their villages from those isolated localities to their chief seats in New York, so they would be more completely under his jurisdiction and protection. Ere this could be accomplished, however, all men's attention was drawn to certain mutterings in the political sky, low at first, but growing more and more angry, until at length there burst upon the country that long and desolating storm known as the Revolutionary war.

Before speaking of that it may be proper to remark that, municipally considered, all the western part of the colony of New York was nominally a part of Albany county up to 1772, though really all authority was divided between the Seneca chiefs and the officers of the nearest British garrisons. In that year a new county was formed, embracing all that part of the colony west of the Delaware river, and of a line running northeastward from the head of that stream through the present county of Schoharie, then northward along the east line of Montgomery, Fulton and Hamilton counties, and continuing in a straight line to Canada. It was named Tryon, in honor of William Tryon, then the royal governor of New York. Guy Johnson,

Sir William's nephew and son-in-law, was the earliest "first judge" of the common pleas, with the afterward celebrated John Butler as one of his associates.

As the danger of hostilities increased, the Johnsons showed themselves more and more clearly on behalf of the King. Sir William said little and seemed greatly disturbed by the gathering troubles. There is little doubt, however, that, had he lived, he would have used his power in behalf of his royal master. But in 1774 he suddenly died. Much of his influence over the Six Nations descended to his son, Sir John Johnson, and his nephew, Col. Guy Johnson. The latter became his successor in the office of superintendent of Indian affairs.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REVOLUTION.

Four Iroquois Tribes hostile.—The Oswego Treaty.—Scalps.—Brant.—Guienguahtoh.—Wyoming.—Cherry Valley.—Sullivan's Expedition.—Senecas settle in Erie County.—Gilbert Family.—Peace.

In 1775 the storm burst. The Revolution began. The new superintendent persuaded the Mohawks to remove westward with him, and made good his influence over all of the Six Nations except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, though it was near two years from the breaking out of the war before they committed any serious hostilities. John Butler, however, established himself at Fort Niagara, and organized a regiment of tories known as Butler's Rangers, and he and the Johnsons used all their influence to induce the Indians to attack the Americans.

The Senecas held off for awhile, but the prospect of both blood and pay was too much for them to withstand, and in 1777 they, in common with the Cayugas, Onondagas and Mohawks, made a treaty with the British at Oswego, agreeing to serve the king throughout the war. Mary Jemison, the celebrated "White Woman," then living among the Senecas on the Genesee, declares that at that treaty the British agents, after giving the Indians numerous presents, "promised a bounty on every scalp that should be brought in."

The question whether a price was actually paid or promised for scalps has been widely debated. There is not sufficient evidence to prove that it was done, and the probabilities are that it was not. Mary Jemison was usually considered truthful, and had good means of knowing what the Indians understood on the subject, but the latter were very ready to understand that they would be paid for taking scalps. An incident on the American side, which will be narrated in the account of the war of 1812, will illustrate this propensity of the savages.

As formerly the Senecas, though favorable to the French, hesitated about attacking their brethren of the Long House, so

now the Oneidas, who were friendly to the Americans, did not go out to battle against the other Iroquois, but remained neutral throughout the contest. The league of the Hedonosaunee was weakened but not destroyed.

From the autumn of 1777 forward, the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Mohawks were active in the British interest. Fort Niagara again became, as it had been during the French war, the key of all this region, and to it the Iroquois constantly looked for support and guidance. Their raids kept the whole frontier for hundreds of miles in a state of terror, and were attended by the usual horrors of savage warfare.

Whether a bounty was paid for scalps or not, the Indians were certainly employed to assail the inhabitants with constant marauding parties, notwithstanding their well-known and inveterate habit of slaughtering men, women and children whenever opportunity offered, or at least whenever the freak happened to take them. In fact they were good for very little else, their desultory method of warfare making them almost entirely useless in assisting the regular operations of an army.

The most active and the most celebrated of the Iroquois chiefs in the Revolution was Joseph Brant, or Thayendenegea, a Mohawk who had received a moderate English education under the patronage of Sir William Johnson. He was most frequently intrusted with the command of detached parties by the British officers, but it does not appear that he had authority over all the tribes, and it is almost certain that the haughty Senecas, the most powerful tribe of the confederacy, to whom by ancient law belonged both the principal war-chiefs of the league, would not and did not submit to the control of a Mohawk.

Three of the chiefs of the Senecas in that conflict are well known—"Farmer's Brother," "Cornplanter," and "Governor Blacksnake"; but who was their chief-in-chief, if I may be allowed to coin the expression, is not certain. I do not myself think there was any, but am of the opinion that the leader of each expedition received his orders directly from the English officers.

W. L. Stone, author of the life of Brant, says that at the battle of Wyoming, in 1778, the leader of the Senecas, who formed the main part of the Indian force on that occasion, was

Guiengwahtoh, supposed to be same as Guiyahgwahdoh, "the smoke-bearer." That was the official title of the Seneca afterwards known as "Young King," he being a kind of hereditary ambassador, the bearer of the smoking brand from the great council-fire of the confederacy to light that of the Senecas. He was too young to have been at Wyoming, but his predecessor in office, (probably his maternal uncle,) might have been there. Brant was certainly not present.

I have called that affair the "battle" instead of the "massacre" of Wyoming, as it is usually termed. The facts seem to be that no quarter was given during the conflict, and that after the Americans were routed the tories and Senecas pursued, and killed all they could, but that those who reached the fort and afterwards surrendered were not harmed, nor were any of the non-combatants. The whole valley, however, was devastated, and the houses burned.

At Cherry Valley, the same year, the Senecas were present in force, together with a body of Mohawks, under Brant, and of tories, under Capt. Walter Butler, son of Col. John Butler, and there then was an undoubted massacre. Nearly thirty women and children were killed, besides many men surprised helpless in their homes.

These events, and other similar ones on a smaller scale, induced congress and General Washington to set on foot an expedition in the spring of 1779, which, though carried on outside the bounds of Erie county, had a very strong influence on that county's subsequent history. I refer to the celebrated expedition of General Sullivan against the Six Nations.

Having marched up the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, where he was joined by a brigade under General James Clinton, (father of De Witt Clinton,) Sullivan, with a total force of some four thousand men, moved up the Chemung to the site of Elmira. There Col. Butler, with a small body of Indians and tories, variously estimated at from six hundred to fifteen hundred men, had thrown up intrenchments, and a battle was fought. Butler was speedily defeated, retired with considerable loss, and made no further opposition.

Sullivan advanced and destroyed all the Seneca villages on the Genesee and about Geneva, burning wigwams and cabins,

cutting down orchards, cutting up growing corn, and utterly devastating the country. The Senecas fled in great dismay to Fort Niagara. The Onondaga villages had in the meantime been destroyed by another force, but it is plain that the Senecas were the ones who were chiefly feared, and against whom the vengeance of the Americans was chiefly directed. After thoroughly laying waste their country, the Americans returned to the East.

Sullivan's expedition substantially destroyed the league which bound the Six Nations together. Its form remained, but it had lost its binding power. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras were encouraged to increase their separation from the other confederates. Those tribes whose possessions had been destroyed were thrown into more complete subservience to the British power, thereby weakening their inter-tribal relations, and the spirits of the Senecas, the most powerful and warlike of them all, were much broken by this disaster.

It was a more serious matter than had been the destruction of their villages in earlier times. They had adopted a more permanent mode of existence. They had learned to depend more on agriculture and less on the chase. They had not only corn-fields, but gardens, orchards, and sometimes comfortable houses. In fact they had adopted many of the customs of civilized life, though without relinquishing their primitive pleasures, such as tomakawking prisoners and scalping the dead.

They fled *en masse* to Fort Niagara, and during the winter of 1779-80, which was one of extraordinary severity, were scantily sustained by rations which the British authorities with difficulty procured. As spring approached the English made earnest efforts to reduce the expense, by persuading the Indians to make new settlements and plant crops. The red men were naturally anxious to keep as far as practicable from the dreaded foes who had inflicted such heavy punishment the year before, and were unwilling to risk their families again at their ancient seats.

At this time a considerable body of the Senecas, with probably some Cayugas and Onondagas, came up from Niagara and established themselves near Buffalo creek, about four miles above its mouth. This was, so far as known, the first permanent settlement of the Senecas in Erie county. They had probably

had huts here to use while hunting and fishing, but no regular villages. In fact this settlement of the Senecas, in the spring of 1780, was probably the first permanent occupation of the county, since the destruction of the Neuter Nation a hundred and thirty-five years before.

The same spring another band located themselves at the mouth of the Cattaraugus.

Those who settled on Buffalo creek were under the leadership of Siangarochti, or Sayengaraghta, an aged but influential chief, sometimes called Old King, and said to be the head sachem of the Senecas. They brought with them two or more more members of the Gilbert family, quakers who had been captured on the borders of Pennsylvania, a month or two previous. After the war the family published a narrative of their captivity, which gives much valuable information regarding this period of our history.

Immediately on their arrival, the squaws began to clear the ground and prepare it for corn, while the men built some log huts and then went out hunting. That summer the family of Siangarochti alone raised seventy-five bushels of corn.

In the beginning of the winter of 1780–81, two British officers, Capt. Powell and Lieutenant Johnson, or Johnston, came to the settlement on Buffalo creek, and remained until toward spring. They were probably sent by the British authorities at Fort Niagara, to aid in putting the new settlement on a solid foundation. Possibly they were also doing some fur-trading on their own account. They made strenuous efforts to obtain the release of Rebecca and Benjamin, two of the younger members of the Gilbert family, but the Indians were unwilling to give them up.

Captain Powell had married Jane Moore, a girl who, with her mother and others of the family, had been captured at Cherry Valley. The "Lieutenant Johnson" who accompanied him to Buffalo creek was most likely his half-brother, who afterwards located at Buffalo, and was known to the early settlers as Captain William Johnston. There seems to have been no ground whatever for the supposition which has been entertained by some that he was the half-breed son of Sir William Johnson. All the circumstances show that he was not.

Lieutenant Johnston, who was probably an officer in Butler's Rangers, was said by Mrs. Jemison to have robbed Jane Moore of a ring at Cherry Valley, which he afterwards used to marry the lady he had despoiled. As Jane Moore married Captain Powell instead of Lieutenant Johnston, this romantic story has been entirely discredited; but since it has been ascertained that Johnston was a half-brother of Powell, it is easy to see how Mrs. Jemison might have confounded the two, and that Johnston might really have furnished the "confiscated" ring for his brother's wedding instead of his own. Captain (afterwards Colonel) Powell is frequently and honorably mentioned in several accounts, as doing everything in his power to ameliorate the condition of the captives among the Indians.

It must have been about this time that Johnston took unto himself a Seneca wife; for his son, John Johnston, was a young man when Buffalo was laid out in 1803.

Elizabeth Peart, wife of Thomas Peart, son of the elder Mrs. Gilbert by a former husband, was another of the Gilbert family captives who was brought to Buffalo creek. She had been adopted by a Seneca family, but that did not induce much kindness on their part, for they allowed her child, less than a year old, to be taken from her, and adopted by another family, living near Fort Niagara. She was permitted to keep it awhile after its "adoption," but when they went to the fort for provisions, they took her and her infant along, and compelled her to give it up.

Near the close of the winter of 1780–81, they were again compelled to go to Fort Niagara for provisions, and there she found her child, which had been bought by a white family from the Indians who had adopted it. By many artifices, and by the connivance of Captain Powell, she finally escaped to Montreal with her husband and children.

Others of the Gilbert family still remained in captivity. Thomas Peart, brother of Benjamin, obtained his liberty in the spring of 1781, and was allowed to go to Buffalo creek with Capt. Powell, who was sent to distribute provisions, hoes, and other implements, among the Indians. At the distribution, the chiefs of every band came for shares, each having as many sticks as there were persons in his band, in order to insure a fair division.

That spring, still another body of Indians came to Buffalo creek, having with them Abner and Elizabeth Gilbert, the two youngest children of the family. But this band settled some distance from the main body, and the children were not allowed to visit each other.

In July of that year, the family in which Abner Gilbert was went to "Butlersburg," a little village opposite Fort Niagara, named after Colonel Butler. The colonel negotiated with the woman who was the head of the family for Abner, and she agreed to give him up on receiving some presents. But he was only to be delivered after twenty days' time. She took him back to Buffalo creek, but finally returned with him before the stipulated day, and they were sent to Montreal by the first ship.

Meanwhile, the war had gone forward with varying fortunes. Guy Johnson and Col. Butler kept the Indians at work as busily as possible, marauding upon the frontier, but they had been so thoroughly broken up that they were unable to produce such devastation as at Wyoming and Cherry Valley.

In October, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered, and thenceforth there were no more active hostilities.

Rebecca Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert, Jr., were released the next year. This appears to have been managed by Col. Butler, who, to give him his due, always seemed willing to befriend the captives, though constantly sending out his savages to make new ones. Not until the arrangements were all made did the Indians inform Rebecca of her approaching freedom. With joyful heart she prepared for the journey, making bread and doing other needful work for her captors. Then, by canoe and on foot, she and her brother were taken to Niagara, and, after a conference, the last two of the ill-fated Gilbert family were released from captivity in June, 1782.

In the fall of 1783, peace was formally declared between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, henceforth to be acknowledged by all men as the United States of America. By the treaty the boundary line was established along the center of Lake Ontario, Niagara River and Lake Erie. Although the forts held by the British on the American side of the line were not given up for many years afterwards, and though they thus retained a strong influence over the Indians located

on this side, yet the legal title was admitted to be in the United States. Thus the unquestioned English authority over the territory of Erie county lasted only from the treaty with France, in 1763, to that with the United States in 1783, a little over twenty years.

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1783 TO 1788.

Treatment of the Six Nations.—The Treaty of Fort Stanwix.—The Western Boundary.—Origin of the Name of Buffalo.—Miss Powell's Visit.—"Captain David."—Claims of New York and Massachusetts.—How Settled.—Sale to Phelps and Gorham.—The Land Rings.—A Council Called.

No provision whatever was made in the treaty of peace for the Indian allies of Great Britain. The English authorities, however, offered them land in Canada, but all except the Mohawks preferred to remain in New York.

The United States treated them with unexampled moderation. Although the Iroquois had twice violated their pledges, and without provocation had plunged into the war against the colonies, they were readily admited to the benefits of peace, and were even recognized as the owners of all the land over which they had ranged before the Revolution. The property line, as it was called, previously drawn between the whites and Indians, ran along the eastern border of Broome and Chenango counties, and thence northwestward to a point seven miles west of Rome.

In October, 1784, a treaty was made at Fort Stanwix (Rome) between three commissioners of the United States and the sachems of the Six Nations. The Marquis de la Fayette was present and made a speech, though not one of the commissioners. It is almost certain, however, that Red Jacket, then a young man, who afterwards claimed to have been there, did not really take any part in the council. Brant was not present, though he had been active in a council with Governor Clinton, only a short time before. Cornplanter spoke on behalf of the Senecas, but Sayengeraghta or "Old King," was recognized as the principal Seneca sachem.

The eastern boundary of the Indian lands does not seem to have been in dispute, but the United States wanted to extinguish whatever claim the Six Nations might have to the western territory, and also to keep open the right of way around the

Falls, which Sir William Johnson had obtained for the British. It was accordingly agreed that the western line of their lands should begin on Lake Ontario, four miles east of the Niagara, running thence southerly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path, to the mouth of Tehoseroron (or Buffalo) creek, on Lake Erie; thence south to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; "thence west to the end of said north boundary; thence south along the west boundary of the State to the river Ohio."

This agreement (if it is correctly given above, and I think it is) would have left the whole of Chautauqua county and a large part of Erie and Cattaraugus west of the line. It could hardly be called a treaty, as the Indians only agreed to it because they thought they were obliged to, and afterwards made so much complaint that its provisions were somewhat modified.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix was the first public document containing the name of Buffalo creek, as applied to the stream which empties at the foot of Lake Erie. The narrative of the Gilbert family published just after the war was the first appearance of the name in writing or printing.

This is a proper time, therefore, to consider a question which has been often debated, viz., whether the original Indian name was "Buffalo" creek. This almost of necessity involves the further question whether the buffalo ever ranged on its banks; for it is not to be presumed that the Indians would, in the first place, have adopted that name unless such had been the case.

It is conceded that the Seneca name for the locality at the mouth of the creek was "To-se-o-way," otherwise rendered De-dyo-syo-oh, meaning "the place of basswoods." Te-ho-se-ro-ron is supposed to be the same word in the Mohawk dialect. It is therefore believed by some that the interpreter made a mistake in calling the stream "Buffalo creek" in the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and that the Senecas afterwards adopted the name, calling the creek "Tick-e-ack-gou" or Buffalo.

In the second chapter the writer briefly indicated his reasons for believing that the buffalo once visited, at least occasionally, the shores of Buffalo creek. The first fact to be considered is the unquestioned existence in Erie county of open plains of considerable extent, only seventy-five years ago. As they were

then growing up with small timber, the presumption is that they were much larger previously, and old accounts coincide with the presumption.

Numerous early travelers and later hunters mention the existence of the buffalo in this vicinity or not far away. The strongest instance, is the account of Chaumonot and Brebœuf, referred to in the sixth chapter, which declares that the Neuter Nation, who occupied this very county of Erie, were in the habit of hunting the buffalo, together with other animals.

Mr. Ketchum, in his history of "Buffalo and the Senecas," says that all the oldest Senecas in 1820 declared that buffalo bones had been found within their recollection at the salt licks, near Sulphur Springs. The same author produces evidence that white men had killed buffaloes within the last hundred and twenty years, not only in Ohio but in Western Pennsylvania.

Albert Gallatin, who was a surveyor in Western Virginia in 1784, declared, in a paper published by the American Ethnological Society, that they were at that time abundant in the Kenawha valley, and that he had for eight months lived principally on their flesh. This is positive proof, and the Kenawha valley is only three hundred miles from here, and only one hundred miles further west, and in as well wooded a country as this. Mr. Gallatin adds authentic evidence of their having previously penetrated west of the Alleganies.

The narrative of the Gilbert family is very strong evidence that from the first the Senecas applied the name of Buffalo to the stream in question. Although the book was not published until after the war, yet the knowledge then given to the public was acquired in 1780, '81 and '82. At least six of the Gilberts and Pearts were among the Senecas on Buffalo creek. Some of them were captives for over two years, and must have acquired considerable knowledge of the language. It is utterly out of the question that they could all have been mistaken as to the name of the stream on which they lived, which must have been constantly referred to by all the Senecas in talking about their people domiciled there, as well as by the scores of British officers and soldiers with whom the Gilberts came in contact.

If, then, the Neuter Nation hunted buffaloes in Canada in 1640, if they were killed by the whites in Ohio and Pennsylvania

within the last century and a quarter, if Albert Gallatin found them abundant on the Kenawha in 1784, if the old Senecas of 1820 declared they had found his bones at the salt lick, and if the Indians called the stream on which they settled in 1780 "Buffalo" creek, there can be no reasonable doubt that they knew what they were about, and did so because that name came down from former times, when the monarch of the western prairie strayed over the plains of the county of Erie.

The same year of the Fort Stanwix treaty (1784) the name of Tryon county, of which Erie was nominally a part, was changed to Montgomery, in honor of the slain hero of Quebec.

In May, 1785, Miss Powell, probably a sister of the Captain Powell before mentioned, visited an Indian council on Buffalo creek, and has left an interesting description, which I find in Mr. Ketchum's valuable repertory. After admiring the Falls, of which she writes in glowing terms, her party went in boats to Fort Erie. Thence they crossed to this side. She was accompanied by Mrs. Powell (Jane Moore), and by several British officers.

One of her companions, (who had also been an officer, though I am not certain that he was then one,) was a young Irish nobleman, whose name was soon to be raised to a mournful prominence, and whose fruitless valor and tragic fate are still the theme of ballad and story among the people of his native land. This was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who manifested a great fondness for visiting among the Indians, and who found an especial charm in the society of Brant.

Before the council assembled, Miss Powell noticed several chiefs, gravely seated on the ground, preparing for it by painting their faces before small looking-glasses, which they held in their left hands. She declares there were two hundred chiefs present as delegates of the Six Nations, which, as there were not over two thousand warriors in all, was a very liberal allowance of officers.

The chief of each tribe formed a circle in the shade of a tree, while their appointed speaker stood with his back against it. Then the old women came, one by one, with great solemnity, and seated themselves behind the men. Miss Powell noted, with evident approval, that "on the banks of Lake Erie a woman

becomes respectable as she grows old;" and added that, though the ladies kept silent, nothing was decided without their approbation.

Their fair visitor was wonderfully taken with the manly appearance of the Iroquois warriors, and declared that "our beaux look quite insignificant beside them." She was especially pleased with one who was called "Captain David," of whom she gave a very full account. Indians wearing the old clothes of white men are common enough now, but a full-fledged Iroquois beau of the last century was an altogether different personage, and I will therefore transcribe the substance of the lady's glowing description.

She declared that the Prince of Wales did not bow with more grace than "Captain David." He spoke English with propriety. His person was tall and fine as it was possible to imagine; his features handsome and regular, with a countenance of much softness; his complexion not disagreeably dark, and, said Miss P., "I really believe he washes his face;" the proof being that she saw no signs of paint forward of his ears.

His hair was shaved off, except a little on top of his head, which, with his ears, was painted a glowing red. Around his head was a fillet of silver, from which two strips of black velvet, covered with silver beads and brooches, hung over the left temple. A "fox-tail feather" in his scalp lock, and a black one behind each ear, waved and nodded as he walked, while a pair of immense silver ear-rings hung down to his shoulders.

He wore a calico shirt, the neck and shoulders thickly covered with silver brooches, the sleeves confined above the elbows with broad silver bracelets, engraved with the arms of England, while four smaller ones adorned his wrists. Around his waist was a dark scarf, lined with scarlet, which hung to his feet, while his costume was completed by neatly fitting blue cloth leggins, fastened with an ornamental garter below the knee.

Such was the most conspicuous gentleman of Erie county ninety-one years ago, and Miss Powell enthusiastically declared that "Captain David made the finest appearance I ever saw in my life."

Now and then some fair English maiden has been so smitten with the appearance of a native American warrior as to become

his bride, and make her residence within his wigwam. Miss Powell, however, was not quite so much charmed by Captain David as that, since she returned to Fort Erie that evening on her way to Detroit, leaving Lord Edward Fitzgerald and others to be entertained that night by the dancing of their dusky friends.

As was stated in Chapter VIII, the colonies of Massachusetts and New York had charters under which they could both claim not only all Central and Western New York, but a strip of land running through to the Pacific ocean, or at least to the Mississippi. About the close of the Revolution, however, both Massachusetts and New York ceded to the United States all claim to the territory west of a line drawn south from the western extremity of Lake Ontario, being the present western boundary of Chautauqua county.

After divers negotiations regarding the rest of the disputed territory, commissioners from the two States interested met at Hartford, in December, 1786, to endeavor to harmonize their claims. It was then and there agreed that Massachusetts should yield all claim to the land east of the present east line of Ontario and Steuben counties. Also that west of that line New York should have the political jurisdiction and sovereignty, while Massachusetts should have the title, or fee-simple, of the land, subject to the Indian right of occupancy.

That is to say, the Indians could hold the land as long as they pleased, but were only allowed to sell to the State of Massachusetts or her assigns. This title, thus encumbered, was called the preëmption right, literally the right of first purchasing. New York, however, reserved a tract a mile wide, along the eastern shore of the Niagara, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. As, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the lands of the Six Nations only came within four miles of the river, and did not extend west of a line running due south from the mouth of Buffalo creek, it is probable that the United States had since released the tract in New York west of that line to the Indians, in response to their numerous complaints.

While these events were transpiring a combination (a "ring" it would now be called) was formed by prominent men in New York and Canada, to get control of the Indian lands in this

State. Two companies were organized, "The New York and Genesee Land Company," of which one John Livingston was the manager, and the "Niagara Genesee Company," composed principally of Canadians, with Col. John Butler at the head. With him were associated Samuel Street, of Chippewa, Captain Powell, the friend of the captives, William Johnston, afterwards of Buffalo, and Benjamin Barton, of New Jersey.

As the State constitution forbade the sale of Indian lands to individuals, these companies, working together, sought to evade it by a lease. So great was the influence of Butler and his friends that in 1787 the Six Nations, or some chiefs claiming to act for them, gave the New York and Genesee Company a lease of all their lands (except some small reservations) for nine hundred and ninety-nine years. The consideration was to be twenty thousand dollars, and an annual rental of two thousand.

The next winter the lessees applied to the legislature for a recognition of their lease, but the intent to evade the law was too plain; the petition was promptly rejected and the lease declared void.

Many of the chiefs, whether truly or not, declared this lease to have been made without authority. We may note, as confirming what has been said of the influence of the female sex among these savages, that in a letter sent by several chiefs from Buffalo creek, in the spring of 1788, they say the lease is void, "since not one sachem nor principal woman had given their consent."

The lease having been declared void, the lessees next proposed to procure a conveyance by the Indians of all their lands to the State, provided the State would reimburse Livingston and his associates for all their expenses, *and convey to them half the land.* This specimen of "cheek" can hardly be exceeded even in these progressive days, considering that, by this proposition, Livingston, Butler and company would have got some four or five million acres of the finest land in America as a free gift. However, the proposition was promptly rejected.

In 1788 Massachusetts sold all her land in New York, about six million acres, to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, acting on behalf of themselves and others, for one million dollars, in three equal annual installments, the purchasers being at lib-

erty to pay in certain stocks of that State, then worth about twenty cents on the dollar.

The purchase was subject of course to the Indian right of occupancy. Phelps, the active man of the firm, made an arrangement with Livingston, who agreed, doubtless for a consideration, to help him negotiate a treaty with the Indians. But meanwhile there was a disagreement between Livingston's and Butler's companies, and when Phelps arrived at Geneva, where a council was to have been held, he learned that Butler and Brant had assembled the Indians at Buffalo creek, and had persuaded them not to meet with either Livingston or Phelps. Finding that Butler and his friends had the most influence over the savages, Phelps went to Niagara, came to a satisfactory arrangement with them, and then procured the calling of a council at Buffalo creek.

It assembled on the fifth of July. The proceedings were very quiet and harmonious, for Butler and Brant made everything move smoothly. There was little dispute, little excitement, and none of those impassioned bursts of eloquence for which Indian orators have become famous; yet the noted men present at that council make it one of the most remarkable assemblages ever convened in the county of Erie. A separate chapter will therefore be devoted to it and them.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COUNCIL.

Brant.—Butler.—Kirkland.—Phelps.—Farmer's Brother.—Red Jacket.—Cornplanter.—The Mill-seat.—The Bargain.—Butler's Pay.

By far the most celebrated personage present in the council on Buffalo creek in July, 1788, was the Mohawk chieftain, called in his native tongue Thayendenegea, but denominated Joseph when he was taken under the patronage of Sir William Johnson, and known to fame throughout England and America by the name of Brant. A tall, spare, sinewy man of forty-five, with an intelligent but sinister countenance, gorgeously apparreled in a dress which was a cross between that of a British officer and of an Indian dandy, his gaudy blanket thrown back from his shoulders to display his gold epaulets, and his military coat eked out by the blue breech-cloth and leggins of the savage, the vain but keen-witted Mohawk doubtless enjoyed himself as the observed of all observers, but at the same time kept a sharp lookout for the main chance; having acquired a decidedly civilized relish for land and money.

Brant has acquired a terrible reputation as a bold and bloodthirsty leader of savages, but it would appear as if both his vices and his virtues were of the civilized—or semi-civilized—stamp. He had a mind which took easily to the instruction of the white man—though his education was only mediocre—and before the Revolution he had become a kind of private secretary to Col. Guy Johnson; a position that to a thorough-going Indian would have been irksome in the extreme. Even the Mohawks did not then look up to him as a great warrior, and on the outbreak of hostilities chose as their chief his nephew, Peter Johnson, son of Sir William by Brant's sister Molly.

But the British found Brant the most intelligent of the Indians, and by using him they could most easily insure coöperation in their own plans. They therefore intrusted him with nu-

merous expeditions, and the Mohawks readily yielded to his authority. So, too, perhaps, did some of the Cayugas and Onondagas, but the evidence is strong that the Senecas never obeyed him. After the war, however, he was looked up to by all the Indians, on account of his influence with the British officials.

In the matter of cruelty, too, though perhaps not a very humane man according to our standard, he was much less savage than most of his countrymen, and there is abundant evidence of his having many times saved unfortunate prisoners from torture or death. Albeit there is also evidence of his having taken some lives needlessly, but never of his inflicting torture.

As he grew older he affected more and more the style of an English country gentleman, at his hospitable residences at Brantford and Burlington Bay, and finally died, in 1807, in the odor of sanctity, a member of the Episcopal church and a translator of the Scriptures into the Mohawk dialect!

Another active participant in the council, with a reputation scarcely less extensive or less sinister, was Col. John Butler, the leader of "Butler's Rangers," the commander at the far-famed "Massacre of Wyoming," the terror of ten thousand families, the loyal gentleman of British records, the "infamous Butler" of border history.

In this case, as in many others, probably the devil was not so black as he has been painted, but he was a good deal of a devil after all. The "Massacre of Wyoming," as I have said, is perhaps hardly entitled to that name. But Colonel Butler was the most active agent in sending and leading the savages against the frontier, knowing that it was impossible at times to restrain them from the most horrible outrages. Again and again they murdered individuals and families in cold blood; again and again they dragged women and children from their homes hundreds of miles through the snows of winter, often slaughtering those too feeble to travel; and again and again John Butler, the great military authority of all this region, sent or led them to a repetition of similar scenes—and they were good for little else—easily satisfying his conscience by sometimes procuring the release of a prisoner.

A native of Connecticut, a man of education and intelligence,

once a judge of the county of Tryon, then a bold, active and relentless partisan commander, cheering on his rangers and Senecas at Wyoming, sword in hand, without his uniform and with a red 'kerchief tied around his head, Butler was in 1788 an agreeable appearing gentleman of fifty-five or sixty, stout and red-faced, in cocked hat and laced coat, with unbounded influence over the Indians, and determined to use it so as to make a good thing for himself out of the lands of Western New York.

There, too, was the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the agent of Massachusetts, a man of noble character and varied experience. Twenty-three years before, then a young man just graduated from college, he had devoted himself to the missionary cause among the Indians, going at first among these same Senecas, and making many friends, though meeting with some very disheartening adventures. Then he had taken up his home with the Oneidas and labored among them with some intermissions nearly forty years, ever receiving their most earnest affection and respect. It had been largely owing to his influence that that tribe had remained neutral during the revolution. Congress had employed him in various patriotic services throughout that struggle, and during Sullivan's campaign he had served as brigade chaplain. Fourteen years after the events we are now relating, he gained a new title to public gratitude by becoming the founder of Hamilton College, (though it then received only the modest title of Hamilton Oneida Academy,) giving it a liberal endowment out of lands granted him by the State for his services.

On this occasion he acted not only as agent for Massachusetts but as one of the interpreters, there being three others, one of whom was William Johnston. This is the first positive appearance of one who was afterwards to exercise a powerful influence over the future of Buffalo—who was, in fact, to decide whether there should be any city of Buffalo or not. There is, however, little doubt that he was identical with the "Lieutenant Johnson," heretofore mentioned, who visited the Senecas in 1780, and also with the Lieutenant Johnson whom Mrs. Jemison mentions as taking part in the Cherry Valley raid.

Shrewd, persistent, enterprising, a typical business man of the day was Oliver Phelps, a Connecticut Yankee by birth, a

son of the Bay State by adoption, a New Yorker by subsequent residence. He had been an active and influential participant in the Revolution, and was now, as the agent of an association of Massachusetts speculators, negotiating for the purchase of a principality. Removing soon after to Canandaigua, and superintending there the sale of the vast domain which he and his associates had purchased, he was to the day of his death looked up to with profound respect by the residents of "Phelps and Gorham's Purchase." But his keenness in a bargain is well illustrated by a transaction at this very council, narrated a little further on.

Among the Indian owners of the land the most eminent was Honayewus, who had for several years been recognized as principal war-chief of the Senecas, and who had lately received the name of "Farmer's Brother" from the lips of Washington. The latter, anxious to make agriculture respectable among the Indians, declared himself a farmer in conversation with Honayewus, and also saluted him as his brother. The chieftain, proud of the attention paid him by the great hero of the pale-faces, readily accepted the title of "Farmer's Brother," and ere long was universally known by that name among the whites.

A strong, stalwart warrior, of gigantic frame and magnificent proportions, straight as an arrow, though nearly sixty years old, plainly attired in full Indian costume, with eagle eye, frank, open countenance, commanding port and dignified demeanor, Honayewus was, more than Brant, or Red Jacket, or Cornplanter, the *beau ideal* of an Iroquois chief. Though an eloquent orator, second only to Red Jacket in all the Six Nations, he was preëminently a warrior, and as such had been followed by the Senecas through many a carnival of blood. It is to be presumed, too, that he had had his share in scenes of cruelty, for, though a peaceable man in peace, he was a savage like his brethren, and, like a savage, he waged war to the knife.

Thirty years before he had been one of the leaders in the terrible tragedy of the Devil's Hole, when nearly a hundred English soldiers were ambushed and slain, and flung down into the darksome gorge. He had borne his part in many a border foray throughout the Revolution, had led the fierce charge of the Senecas when they turned the scale of battle at Wyoming, and had

perhaps been an actor in the more dreadful scenes of Cherry Valley. Now he had become the friend of peace, the foe of intemperance, the conservator of order; and wherever a Seneca village was found, on the banks of the Buffalo or the Cattaraugus, of the Genesee or the Allegany, the presence of Farmer's Brother was greeted, the name of Honayewus was heard, with the respect due to valor, wisdom and integrity.

There, too, was the more celebrated but less respected leader, who had lately been made a chief by the honorable name of Sagoyewatha, "The Keeper Awake," (literally, "he keeps them awake"—a tribute to his oratorical powers which many a congressman might envy,) but who was generally known among the whites by the ridiculous appellation which he transmitted to his descendants, the far-famed Red Jacket.

Hé, too, had been an actor in the border wars, but had gained no laurels in them. Brant and Cornplanter both hated him, declaring him to be both a coward and a traitor. They were accustomed to tell of the time when he made a glowing speech, urging the Senecas to battle, but, while the conflict was going on, was discovered cutting up the cow of another Indian, which he had killed. He was at that time frequently called "The Cow-Killer," and that name was inserted in two or three public documents, being afterwards crossed out and "Red Jacket" substituted.

The treason with which he was charged seems to have consisted in making various efforts for peace, during Sullivan's campaign, without the sanction of the war-chiefs. At one time he is said to have clandestinely sent a runner to the American camp, inviting a flag of truce. Brant heard of the proceeding, and had the unlucky messenger intercepted and killed. Probably some of the stories regarding his timidity and treachery are false, but there are a good many of them, and they all point the same way.

Notwithstanding all this, such was the charm of his eloquence, of which the Iroquois were always great admirers, and such the clearness of his intellect, that he was rapidly gaining in influence, and had been made a chief; that is, as I understand it, a civil chief, or counselor of the sachems.

At the beginning of the Revolution he was a youth of about

twenty. The British officers had been attracted by his intelligence, and had frequently employed him as a messenger, for which he was as well qualified by his fleetness of foot as by his shrewdness of mind. They had compensated him by a succession of red jackets, in which he took great pride, and from which he derived his name.

Slender of form and subtle of face, clad in the most gorgeous of Indian raiment, Sagoyewatha doubtless attracted the attention of the whites, but he had little opportunity to display his powers, for Brant and the omnipotent Butler had got everything arranged in the most satisfactory manner.

There, too, was Captain John O'Bail, or Abeel, more widely known as Cornplanter. Half white by blood, but thoroughly Indian by nature, he had been one of the bravest and most successful chiefs of the Senecas during the war, but was now under a cloud among his people, because of his assent to the treaty of Fort Stanwix. He is said by Mrs. Jemison to have captured his own father, the old white trader, John Abeel, in one of his raids, but to have released him after taking him a few miles.

Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket both lived on Buffalo creek, but Cornplanter's residence was on the Allegany, in Pennsylvania, where a band of Senecas looked up to him as their leader.

Sayengeraghta, "Old King," or "Old Smoke," as he was variously termed, was, if living, still the principal civil sachem of the Senecas, but his mildness and modesty prevented his taking a prominent part among so many great warriors and orators.

Besides all these there was a host of inferior chiefs, whose rank gave them a right to take part in the council, while close by were the other warriors of the tribes, painted and plumed, who had no vote in the proceedings, but who, in the democratic system of the Six Nations, might have a potent influence if they chose to exercise it.

A number of British officers from Forts Niagara and Erie added splendor to the scene, and last, not least, was a row of old squaws, mothers in Israel, seated in modest silence behind the chiefs, but prepared if need be to express an authoritative opinion on the merits of the case—a right which would have been recognized by all.

Such was the varied scene, and such the actors in it, on the banks of Buffalo creek, a little over eighty-seven years ago.

The council, as I have said, was very harmonious. The Indians were willing to sell a part of their land, and apparently were not very particular about the price. The only dispute was whether the west line of the territory sold should be along the Genesee river or, as Phelps desired, some distance this side. The Indians insisted that the Great Spirit had fixed on that stream as the boundary between them and the whites.

After several days discussion, Phelps suggested that he wanted to build some mills at the falls of the Genesee, (now Rochester,) which would be very convenient for Indians as well as whites. Would his red brethren let him have a mill-seat, and land enough for convenience around it.

Oh, yes, certainly, mills would be a fine thing, and their white brother should have a mill-seat. How much land did he want for that purpose?

After due deliberation Phelps replied that he thought a strip about twelve miles wide, extending from Avon to the mouth of the river, twenty-eight miles, would be about right!

The Indians thought that would be a pretty large mill-seat, but as they supposed the Yankees knew best what was necessary for the purpose they let him have the land. As it contained something over 200,000 acres it was probably the largest mill-seat ever known.

From Avon south, the west line of the purchase was to run along the Genesee to the mouth of the Canesceraga, and thence due south to the Pennsylvania line. This was "Phelps and Gorham's Purchase." It included about 2,600,000 acres, and the price was left by the complaisant aborigines to Col. Butler, Joseph Brant and Elisha Lee, Mr. Kirkland's assistant. They fixed the price at five thousand dollars in hand, and five hundred dollars annually, forever. This was about equal to twelve thousand dollars in cash, or half a cent an acre.

Two weeks later we find Col. Butler calling on Mr. Phelps by letter for a conveyance of twenty thousand acres of the land, in accordance with a previous arrangement. Phelps duly transferred the land to the persons designated by Butler. Considering that the colonel had been one of the referees to fix the price, this transfer looks as if some of the Indian operations of that era would not bear investigating any better than those of later date.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM 1788 TO 1797.

"Skendyoughwatti."—First White Resident.—A Son of Africa.—The Holland Purchase.—Proctor's Visit.—British Influence.—Woman's Rights.—Final Failure.—The Indians Insolent.—Wayne's Victory.—Johnston, Middaugh and Lane.—The Forts Surrendered.—Asa Ransom.—The Mother's Strategy.—First White Child.—The Indians Sell Out.—Reservations.

Mr. Kirkland made another journey to Buffalo creek the next fall, seeking to pacify those Indians who were discontented regarding the sale just made by the Senecas, and also about those made by other tribes to the State of lands farther east. He mentions seeking the aid of the second man of influence among the Senecas on Buffalo creek, "Skendyoughwatti." This fearful-looking name I understand to be the same as that called "Conjockety" by the early settlers, and which their descendants have transmuted into Scajaquada.

In returning, Kirkland says he lodged at "the Governor's village," on the Genesee, and adds: "The Governess had set out for Niagara near a week before. I had not her aid in the council." This "Governess" is mentioned in other accounts, and seems to have been a very important personage, but who she was, or what her functions, is among the mysteries of local history.

In 1789 the county of Ontario was erected from Montgomery, (to which name that of Tryon county has been changed,) including the whole of the Massachusetts land, or substantially all west of Seneca Lake; a territory now comprising thirteen counties and two parts of counties.

About this time, certainly before 1791, and probably in 1789, the first white man took up his permanent residence in Erie county. This was Cornelius Winne, or Winney, a Hudson river Dutchman, who established a little log store for trading with the Indians on the site of Buffalo, at the foot of the hill which old residents still remember as existing at the Mansion House. This was four miles from the main Seneca village, but there were

scattered huts all the way down the creek to Farmer's Point, where Farmer's Brother lived. Captain Powell had an interest in Winney's store.

I call Winney the first resident, for though William Johnston had spent much time among the Senecas, as a kind of British agent, and had taken a Seneca wife, there is no evidence that he had made his permanent abode among them.

Almost as soon as the earliest white man—possibly preceding him—the irrepressible African made his advent in our county; for in 1792 I find "Black Joe," alias Joseph Hodge, established as an Indian trader on Cattaraugus creek, and from the way in which he is mentioned I infer that he had already been there a considerable time.

Meanwhile the adoption of the Federal Constitution had caused a great rise in Massachusetts stocks, so that Phelps and Gorham were unable to make the payments they had agreed on. After much negotiation, Massachusetts released them from their contract as to all the land except that to which they had extinguished the Indian title, to wit, "Phelps and Gorham's Purchase." Of that the State gave them a deed in full.

Massachusetts at once sold the released land in five tracts to Robert Morris, the merchant prince of Philadelphia, and the celebrated financier of the Revolution. The easternmost of these tracts Mr. Morris sold out in small parcels. The remaining four constituted the "Holland Purchase." Mr. Morris sold it by four conveyances (not corresponding, however, to the four given by Massachusetts) made in 1792 and '93, to several Americans who held it in trust for a number of Hollanders, who being aliens could not hold it in their own name. As they did not begin the settlement of the county until several years later, it is unnecessary to say more of them here.

In 1791 there was great uneasinesss among the Indians, even in this vicinity, and in the West they were constantly committing depredations. The British still held all the forts on the American side of the boundary line, in open violation of the treaty of peace, alleging that the Americans had also failed to comply with its provisions. To what extent they encouraged the Indians to hostilities is not known, but in view of the protectorate which they openly assumed over the savages, and which the

latter acknowledged, it cannot well be doubted that the English influence was hostile to the United States.

In April, 1791, Col. Thomas Proctor, a commissioner appointed by the War Department, came from Philadelphia to Cornplanter's villages on the Allegany, thence, accompanied by that chief and many of his warriors, to the Cattaraugus settlement, and then down the beach of the lake to Buffalo creek. Horatio Jones, the celebrated captive and interpreter, was also of the party. Proctor's object was to persuade the Senecas to use their influence to stop the hostilities of the western Indians, (against whom Gen. St. Clair was then preparing to move,) and to that end to send a delegation of chiefs along with him on a mission to the Miamis. His journal is published by Ketchum, and gives much information regarding the condition of affairs in Erie county in 1791.

He found the English influence very strong, the Indians obtaining supplies not only of clothing but of provisions from Forts Erie and Niagara. On the commissioner's arrival "Young King," who could not have been over twenty-two or three years old, met him, apparelled in the full uniform of a British colonel, red, with blue facings and gold epaulets. The Senecas were also in possession of a two-pound swivel, which they fired in honor of the occasion, the gunner wisely standing inside the council house while he touched it off with a long pole passed between the logs. The charge was so heavy that it upset the gun and its carriage.

At this time Red Jacket had risen to a high position, being mentioned by Proctor as "the great speaker, and a prince of the Turtle tribe." In fact, however, he belonged to the Wolf clan.

On Proctor's stating his object in the council, Red Jacket questioned his authority. This, as the colonel was informed by a French trader, was the result of the insinuations of Butler and Brant, who had been there a week before and had advised the Indians not to send a delegation to the Miamis. Proctor offered to present his credentials to any one in whom they had confidence, and they at once sent for the commandant at Fort Erie. The latter sent back Capt. Powell, who seems to have acted as a kind of guardian to the Indians during the proceedings. These were very deliberate, and were adjourned from day to day.

Red Jacket was the spokesman of the Indians, and declared their determination to move the council to Niagara, insisting on the commissioner's accompanying them the next day as far as Capt. Powell's house below Fort Erie. Proctor peremptorily declined. Then Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother addressed the council by turns, the result being that a runner was at once sent to Niagara to summon Col. Butler to the council. After two or three days delay Butler came to Winney's store-house, and requested the sachems and head men to meet him there, but said nothing about Proctor.

While waiting, the commissioner dined with "Big Sky," head chief of the Onondagas, whose "castle" he describes as being three miles east from "Buffalo" meaning from the Seneca village. . There were twenty-eight good cabins near it, and the inhabitants were well clothed, especially the women, some of whom, according to Col. P., were richly dressed, "with silken stroud" and silver trappings worth not less than thirty pounds ($150) per suit! It seems, too, that they had advanced so far in civilization that the ladies were invited to the feast of the warriors, which consisted principally of young pigeons boiled and stewed. These were served up in hanks of six, tied around the necks with deer's sinews, and were ornamented with pin feathers. However, the colonel made a good meal.

On the 4th of May the Indians repaired to the store-house to hold council with Butler. The latter invited Proctor to dine with him and his officers, including Capts. Powell and Johnston. They talked Indian fluently, and advised the chiefs not to go with the commissioner then, but to wait for Brant, who had gone west. Red Jacket and Young King appear to have been working for Proctor. The latter at length resented the interference of the British and insisted on a speedy answer from the Indians. Every paper delivered to the chiefs was handed over to Butler, who went back to Fort Erie next day.

On the 6th of May, Ambassador Red Jacket announced that there would be no council, as the honorable councilors were going out to hunt pigeons. Proctor makes special mention of the immense number of pigeons found—over a hundred nests on a tree, with a pair of pigeons in each.

On the 7th a private council was held, at which land was

assigned to Indians of other tribes who had fled from the Shawnees and Miamis. "Capt. Smoke" and the Delawares under his charge were assigned to Cattaraugus, where their descendants dwell at the present day. Several Missisauga families had planting-grounds given them near the village of Buffalo creek.

On the 11th, Proctor declares there was a universal drunk; "Cornplanter and some of the elder women excepted," from which the natural inference is that the young women indulged with the rest.

Finally, on the 15th of May, the elders of the women repaired to the commissioner's hut, and declared that they had taken the matter into consideration, and that they should be listened too, for, said they: "We are the owners of this land, and it is ours;" adding, as an excellent reason for the claim, "for it is we that plant it." They then requested Colonel Proctor to listen to a formal address from "the women's speaker," they having appointed Red Jacket for that purpose.

The alarm-gun was fired, and the chiefs came together, the elder women being seated near them. Red Jacket arose, and after many florid preliminaries, announced that the women had decided that the sachems and warriors must help the commissioner, and that a number of them would accompany him to the West.

Col. Proctor was overjoyed at this happy exemplification of woman's rights, and seems to have thought there would be no further difficulty. He forthwith dispatched a letter by the trusty hands of Horatio Jones to Col. Gordon, the commandant at Niagara—who was located opposite the fort of that name—asking that himself and the Indians might take passage on some British merchant-vessel running up Lake Erie, since the chiefs refused to go in an open boat. (It is worth noticing that even so late as 1791, Proctor spoke of Jones' crossing the "St. Lawrence" instead of the Niagara.)

Gordon, in the usual spirit of English officials on the frontier at that time, refused the permission, and so the whole scheme fell through. It was just what was to have been expected, though Proctor does not seem to have expected it, and it is very likely the whole thing was well understood between the British and Indians.

While it was supposed that Red Jacket and others would go with Proctor, that worthy had several requests to make. Firstly, the colonel was informed that his friends expected something to drink, as they were going to have a dance before leaving their women. This the commissioner responded to with a present of "eight gallons of the best spirits." Then Red Jacket remarked that his house needed a floor, and Proctor offered to have one made. Then he preferred a claim for a special allowance of rum for his wife and mother, and in fact—well—he wanted a little rum himself. So the colonel provided a gallon for the great orator and his wife and mother. Young King was not less importunate, but Cornplanter was modest and dignified, as became a veteran warrior. But the worthy commissioner made due provision for them all.

The projected expedition having thus fallen through, Young King made a farewell speech, being aided by "Fish Carrier," a Cayuga chief, whose "keen gravity" put Proctor in mind of a Roman senator, and who seems to have been a man of great importance, though never putting himself forward as a speech-maker.

The Indians must have had a pretty good time during Proctor's stay, as his liquor bill at Cornelius Winney's was over a hundred and thirty dollars.

A very curious item in the commissioner's diary is this: "Gave a white prisoner that lived with said Winney nine pounds four and a half pence." Who he was, or to whom he could have been prisoner, is a mystery, since the Indians certainly held no prisoners at that time, and Cornelius, the Dutch trader, could hardly have captured a white man, though the law would have allowed him to own a black one.

All this conciling having come to naught, Col. Proctor set out for Pittsburg on the 21st of May, having spent nearly a month in the very highest society of Erie county.

A little later, the successive defeats of Harmer and St. Clair, by the western Indians, aroused all the worst passions of the Iroquois. Their manners toward the Americans became insolent in the extreme, and it is positively asserted that some of their warriors united with the hostile bands. There is little doubt that another severe disaster would have disposed a large

part of them to rise in arms, and take revenge for the unforgotten though well-merited punishment inflicted by Sullivan. Yet they kept up negotiations with the United States; in fact nothing delighted the chiefs more than holding councils, making treaties, and performing diplomatic pilgrimages. They felt that at such times they were indeed "big Indians."

In 1792, Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother were two of fifty chiefs who visited the seat of government, then at Philadelphia. The former then claimed to be in favor of civilization, and it was at this time that Washington gave him the celebrated medal which he afterwards wore on all great occasions. It was of silver, oval in form, about seven inches long by five wide, and represented a white man in a general's uniform, presenting the pipe of peace to an Indian scantily attired in palm leaves. The latter has flung down his tomahawk, which lies at his feet. Behind them is shown a house, a field, and a man ploughing.

A characteristic anecdote is told of Red Jacket, by his biographer, regarding one of these visits. On his arrival at the seat of government, Gen. Knox, then Secretary of War, presented the distinguished Seneca with the full uniform of a military officer, with cocked hat and all equipments complete. Red Jacket requested the bearer to tell Knox that he could not well wear military clothes, he being a civil sachem, not a war chief. If any such present was to be made him, he would prefer a suit of civilian's clothes, but would keep the first gift till the other was sent. In due time a handsome suit of citizen's clothes was brought to his lodging. The unsophisticated savage accepted it, and then remarked to the bearer that in time of war the sachems went out on the war-path with the rest, and he would keep the military suit for such an occasion. And keep it he did.

In 1794, Mad Anthony Wayne went out to Ohio. He did not allow himself to be surprised, and when he met the hordes of the Northwest he struck them down with canister and bayonet, until they thought the angel of death himself was on their track. Said Joshua Fairbanks, of Lewiston, to a Miami Indian who had fled from that terrible onslaught:

"What made you run away?" With gestures corresponding to his words, and endeavoring to represent the effect of the cannon, he replied:

"Pop, pop, pop—boo, woo, woo—whish, whish—boo, woo—kill twenty Indians one time—no good, by dam."

The Senecas had runners stationed near the scene of conflict, and when they brought back the news of the tremendous punishment inflicted on their western friends, all the Iroquois in Western New York resolved to be "good Indians;" and from that time forth they transgressed only by occasional ebullitions of passion or drunkenness.

In September of that year (1794), another treaty was made at Canandaigua, by which the United States agreed to give the New York Iroquois $10,000 worth of goods, and an annuity of $4,000 annually in clothing, domestic animals, etc. It was also fully agreed that the Senecas should have all the land in New York west of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, except the reservation a mile wide along the Niagara.

This council at Canandaigua was the last one at which the United States treated with the Iroquois as a confederacy. William Johnston, so often mentioned before, came there, and was discovered haranguing some of the chiefs. It was believed that he was acting in behalf of the British, to prevent a treaty, and Col. Pickering, the United States commissioner, compelled him to leave.

About this time, or a little earlier, Johnston took up his permanent residence in a block-house which he built near Winney's store, at the mouth of Buffalo creek. His Indian friends gave him two square miles of land in the heart of the present city of Buffalo. His title would doubtless have been considered void in the courts of the pale-faces, but so long as the Senecas should retain their land Johnston would be allowed to use his magnificent domain at will.

About the same time as Johnston, perhaps a little later, one Martin Middaugh, a Hudson river Dutchman, though recently from Canada, and his son-in-law, Ezekiel Lane, were allowed by Johnston to build a log house on his land, near his own residence. Middaugh was a cooper, and perhaps made some barrels for the Indians, but both he and Lane seem to have been dependents of Johnston.

There had begun to be considerable travel through Erie county. There was emigration to Canada, which was rapidly

settling up, and also to Ohio, which was open for purchase. There were no roads but Indian trails, but some way or other people managed to flounder through. In 1794 or '95 the first tavern was opened in the county.

In the latter year there came hither a French duke, bearing the ancient and stately name of De La Rochefoucauld Liaincourt, probably driven from France by the revolution, who was desirous of seeing the red man in his native wilds. On his way to the Seneca village he and his companions passed the night at "Lake Erie," the name applied to the cluster of log houses on Johnston's land. When men spoke of "Buffalo," they referred to the village of the Senecas.

There was then something in the shape of an inn, but if the landlord "kept tavern" he kept nothing else; "for," says the duke in his travels, "there was literally nothing in the house, neither furniture, rum, candles, nor milk." The absence of rum was certainly astonishing. Milk was at length procured "from the neighbors," and rum and candles from across the river. The name of this frugal pioneer landlord is supposed to have been Skinner, as a man of that name certainly kept there only a little later.

On the 4th of July, 1796, Fort Niagara and the other posts so long withheld were surrendered by the British to the United States. This strengthened the impression made on the Indians by Wayne's victory, and confirmed them in the disposition to cultivate friendly relations with the Americans.

In that year, too, the little settlement of "Lake Erie" was increased by the arrival from Geneva of Mr. Asa Ransom, a resolute and intelligent young man, a silversmith by trade, who built a log house near the site of the liberty pole, established himself there with his delicate young wife and infant daughter, and went to work making silver brooches, ear-rings, and other ornaments in which the soul of the red man and the red man's wife so greatly delighted. This was the first family that brought into Erie county the habits and refinements of civilized life.

At this time, the few settlers who wanted to get corn ground were obliged to take it over the river, and down to Niagara, forty miles distant. On one occasion, some little time after the arrival of Mr. Ransom, he and all the other men of the settlement,

(three or four in number,) had gone to Canada to mill, except Cornelius Winney and Black Joe, who had left the Cattaraugus Indians and was living with Winney. While they were gone several Indians came to Ransom's house and demanded "rum," about the only English word they knew. Mrs. Ransom told them she had none, but they insisted she had. On her continued refusal one of them suddenly seized her only child, a little girl of two years old, which was toddling about the floor, and with uplifted tomahawk threatened its life. Probably this was only done to scare, but the mother did not understand such a jest.

Though frightened beyond measure she had sufficient presence of mind to try strategy on the evil-minded crew. She immediately promised them rum, (partly by words and partly by signs,) if they would allow her to go up stairs to get it. They assented, but insisted on retaining her infant as a hostage for the appearance of the stimulant.

Taking her niece, a girl of twelve, Mrs. Ransom went upstairs into the low chamber of their log house, and immediately fastened the door behind her. Then snatching a pair of sheets from the bed she hastily knotted them together, and with this improvised rope she lowered the girl to the ground, directing her to hasten at once to Mr. Winney, whose influence was supposed to be sufficient to pacify the angry savages.

Then with wildly-beating heart the mother waited, fearing every moment lest she should hear the screams of her child, sacrificed in a sudden freak of barbaric rage. Ere long the Indians were heard beating on the door with their tomahawks, but it was a stout one, and before it could be broken down Winney arrived. By some means he managed to control them, and induced them to withdraw. But to the end of her life the mother never told the tale, without betraying by her faltering voice and paling cheek how deeply she had felt the terrors of that day.

The infant heroine of this exciting scene bore the dramatic name of Portia, but was afterwards better known as Mrs. Christopher M. Harvey.

In the fall of 1797 the "Lake Erie" settlement received another addition by the arrival of a daughter in the Ransom fami-

ly, being the first white child born in Erie county, so far as known, and the first in New York west of the Genesee river, outside of Fort Niagara. Some twenty-two years later this little stranger became Mrs. Frederick B. Merrill.

I mentioned some pages back the sale by Robert Morris to certain Holland gentlemen, (through their American friends,) of nearly all the land west of the Genesee; the seller agreeing to extinguish the Indian title. It was not until 1797 that this could be accomplished. In September of that year a council was held at Geneseo, at which Morris bought the whole of the remaining Seneca lands in New York, except eleven reservations of various sizes, comprising in all about three hundred and thirty-eight square miles.

Of these the Buffalo creek reservation, the largest of all, lay wholly in Erie county. By the terms of the treaty it was to contain a hundred and thirty square miles, lying on both sides of Buffalo creek, about seven miles wide from north to south, and extending eastward from Lake Erie. The Cattaraugus reservation was to contain forty-two square miles; on both sides of Cattaraugus creek near its mouth, being in the present counties of Erie, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua. As finally surveyed about thirty-four square miles were in Erie county.

The Tonawanda reservation was to contain seventy square miles, lying on both sides of Tonawanda creek, beginning "about twenty-five miles" from its mouth, and running east "about seven miles wide." Of this, as surveyed, some fifteen square miles were in Erie county. The other reservations, which were all small, were entirely outside of the county.

As will have been seen, the amounts reserved were all definite, but the precise lines were left to be located afterwards, in order not to crowd any of the Indian villages. The tract bought, aside from the reservations, contained about three million three hundred thousand acres, for which Morris paid ten thousand dollars, or less than a third of a cent per acre.

Considering the complaints which Indians are all the time making about the loss of their lands, it certainly seems strange that they should throw them away by the million acres for a merely nominal price, as they have usually done. The sale to Phelps and Gorham was not so excesssively strange because it

involved no change in their mode of life. They still had vast hunting grounds west of the Genesee. But that to Morris at once destroyed all hope of living by the chase, and necessitated their adopting to a considerable extent the habits of the white man. They appear to have forgotten all about the Great Spirit's fixing the Genesee as their eastern boundary. Yet they showed no inclination to demand white men's prices for their land.

Certainly such men as Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, who had visited the eastern cities and had seen the wealth of the whites, must have known that a third of a cent per acre was a very poor price to pay for land. True, we may suppose they were bought, (which would accord with Red Jacket's character,) but one would imagine that, in the democratic Iroquois system, the warriors of the tribe could easily have prevented a sale, and in view of their reiterated complaints over the Fort Stanwix treaty and the sale to Phelps and Gorham, it is strange they did not do so. They must have wanted whisky very badly.

CHAPTER XIII.

PREPARING FOR SETTLEMENT.

The Holland Company.—Three Sets of Proprietors.—Their System of Surveys.—The State Reservation.—The West Transit.—The Founder of Buffalo.—The First Road.—Indian Trails.—New Amsterdam.—Hotel at Clarence.—A Young Stranger.—Elliott made Agent.—First Wheat.

Much has been written and more has been said about the "Holland Company." When people wished to be especially precise they called it the "Holland Land Company." It has been praised and denounced, blessed and cursed, besought for favors and assailed for refusal, almost as much as any institution in America. Not only in common speech, in newspapers and in books, but in formal legal documents it has been again and again described as the "Holland Company" or the "Holland Land Company," according to the fancy of the writer.

Yet there never was any such thing as the Holland Company or the Holland Land Company.

Certain merchants and others of the city of Amsterdam placed funds in the hands of friends who were citizens of America, to purchase several tracts of land in the United States, which, being aliens, the Hollanders could not hold in their own name at that time. One of these tracts, comprising what was afterwards known as the Holland Purchase, was bought from Robert Morris as has before been mentioned. From their names, I should infer that most of those who made the purchase for the Hollanders were themselves of Holland birth, but had been naturalized in the United States.

In the forepart of 1798 the legislature of New York authorized those aliens to hold land within the State, and in the latter part of that year the American trustees conveyed the Holland Purchase to the real owners. It was transferred, however, to two sets of proprietors, and one of these sets was soon divided into two, making three in all. Each set held its tract as "joint tenants," that is, the survivors took the whole; the shares could

not be the subject of will nor sale, and did not pass by inheritance, except in case of the last survivor.

But there was no incorporation and no legal company. All deeds were made in the name of the individual proprietors. The three sets of owners appointed the same general and local agents, who in their behalf carried out one system in dealing with the settlers, though apportioning the expenses among the three sets according to their respective interests, and paying to each the avails of their own lands.

At the first transfer by the trustees the whole tract, except 300,000 acres, was conveyed to Wilhem Willink, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Pieter Van Eeghen, Hendrick Vollenhoven, and Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck. The 300,000 acres were conveyed to Wilhem Willink, Jan Willink, Wilhem Willink, Jr., and Jan Willink, Jr. Two years later the five proprietors of the main tract transferred the title of about a million acres so that it was vested in the original five and also in Wilhem Willink, Jr., Jan Willink, Jr., Jan Gabriel Van Staphorst, Roelif Van Staphorst, Jr., Cornelius Vollenhoven and Hendrick Seye. Pieter Stadnitzki, was also made a partner, though in some unknown manner.

In the hands of these three sets of owners the titles remained during the most active period of settlement, only as men died their shares passed to the survivors, and their names were dropped out of the deeds. Some twenty years later new proprietors were brought in, but the three sets remained as before. It will be observed that Wilhem Willink was the head of each of the three sets, and as he outlived nearly all the rest his name was the first in every deed.

The same proprietors, or a portion of them, also held large bodies of land in Central New York and in Pennsylvania, all managed by the same general agent at Philadelphia.

For convenience, however, all these owners will be described throughout this work by the name to which every one in Erie county is accustomed, that of the "Holland Company," and their tract in Western New York will be considered as distinctively the "Holland Purchase," though there were other bodies of land equally well entitled to the name.

The first general agent of the company was Theophilus Cazenove, a Hollander sent out from Europe for the purpose. Pre-

vious to the extinguishment of the Indian title to the Company's lands in New York, Cazenove had employed Joseph Ellicott to survey their tract in Pennsylvania. He was a younger brother of Andrew A. Ellicott, then surveyor-general of the United States, and had assisted him in laying out the city of Washington.

As soon as the treaty was made with the Indians, in the fall of 1797, Mr. Cazenove employed the same efficient person to survey the new tract. That same autumn he and Augustus Porter, the surveyor employed by Robert Morris, in order to ascertain the number of acres in the Purchase, took the necessary assistance, began at the northeast corner, traversed the northern bounds along Lake Ontario to the Niagara, thence up the river to Lake Erie, and thence along the lake shore to the western boundary of the State.

No sooner had the keen eye of Joseph Ellicott rested on the location at the mouth of Buffalo creek than he made up his mind that that was a most important position, and he ever after showed his belief by his acts.

The next spring, (1798,) the grand surveying campaign began, with Ellicott as general-in-chief. He himself ran the east line of the Purchase, usually called the East Transit. Eleven other surveyors, each with his corps of axemen, chainmen, etc., went to work at different points, running the lines of ranges, townships and reservations. All through the Purchase the deer were startled from their hiding-places, the wolves were driven growling from their lairs, by bands of men with compasses and theodolites, chains and flags, while the red occupants looked sullenly on at the rapid parceling out of their broad and fair domain.

The survey system adopted by the Holland Company was substantially the same as that previously followed on Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and was not greatly different from that now in use by the United States all over the West. The tract was first divided into ranges six miles wide, running from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario, and numbered from east to west. These were subdivided into townships six miles square, numbered from south to north.

The original intention was to divide every complete township into sixteen sections, each a mile and a half square; subdividing

these into lots, each three quarters of a mile long and one quarter wide, every one containing just a hundred and twenty acres. This plan, however, was soon abandoned as inconvenient and complicated, and the townships were divided into lots three fourths of a mile square, containing three hundred and sixty acres each. These were sold off in parcels to suit purchasers. It was a common but not invariable rule to divide them into "thirds" of a hundred and twenty acres each.

Twenty-four townships had already been surveyed when the first plan was abandoned, three of which were in Erie county, being the present town of Lancaster and the southern part of Newstead and Clarence.

Both systems differ from that of the United States, in that by the latter each township is divided into sections a mile square, and these into quarter-sections of a hundred and thirty acres each.

It will be understood that various causes, such as the existence of lakes and rivers, the use of large streams as boundaries, the great fickleness of the magnetic needle, the interposition of reservation lines, etc., frequently caused a variation from the normal number of square miles in a township, or of acres in a lot.

The surveys went briskly forward. Ellicott, after running the east line of the Purchase, stayed at "Buffalo Creek" the greater part of the season, directing operations. By this name I refer to the cluster of cabins at the mouth of the creek, previously called "Lake Erie"; for on the opening of surveys that appellation was dropped, and the name "Buffalo Creek" was speedily transferred thither from the Seneca village to which it had before pertained.

In the fall Seth Pease ran the line of the State reservation along the Niagara river, or the "streights of Niagara," as that stream was then frequently termed. There was some difficulty in determining its boundaries at the southern end, as the lake gradually narrowed so it was hard to tell where it ended and the river began. It was at length agreed between the State authorities and the company that the river should be considered to commence where the water was a mile wide.

From the point on the eastern bank opposite this mile width

of water, a boundary was drawn, consisting of numerous short lines, amounting substantially to the arc of a circle with a mile radius, giving to the State all the land within a mile of the river, whether east from its eastern bank or south from its head. The boundary in question, since known as the "mile line," began at the foot of Genesee street, as afterwards laid out, crossed Church street a little west of Genesee, crossed Niagara street a few rods northwest of Mohawk, continued on the arc above described to the intersection of North and Pennsylvania streets, and thence ran northward, always keeping a mile from the river, to Lake Ontario.

Beside the East Transit, another standard meridian was run as a base of operations in the western part of the Purchase, and called the West Transit. It was the line between the sixth and seventh ranges, and is now the boundary between Clarence, Lancaster, Elma, Aurora and Colden on the east, and Amherst, Cheektowaga, West Seneca, East Hamburg and Boston on the west.

A portion of the 300,000 acres conveyed to the four Willinks, as before mentioned, lay in a strip nearly a mile and a half wide, (113 chains, 68 links,) just west of the West Transit, extending from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario. The rest of the land belonging to that set of proprietors was in the southeast corner of the Purchase.

All that part of Erie county west of the West Transit (except the preëmption right to the reservations), was included in the conveyance of a million acres to the larger set of proprietors, while that part east of the Transit was retained by the five original owners. The transit, however, was not the line between the two sets throughout the whole Purchase.

The city of Buffalo was founded by Joseph Ellicott. He not only selected the site and laid out the town, but it was only through his good judgment and special exertions that there was any town there.

All through the summer and fall of 1798, though only the superintendent of surveys, and in no way responsible for the future prosperity of the Purchase, he labored zealously to get room for a city at the foot of Lake Erie. He saw that the State reservation would come down within a short distance of the cluster

of cabins which he meant should be the nucleus of a great commercial emporium. He saw, too, that if the Buffalo Creek reservation, (which by the treaty with Morris was to be seven miles wide, lying on both sides of the creek), should be surveyed with straight lines, it would run square against the State reservation, and cut off the Holland Company entirely from the foot of the lake.

The Indians were not particular about having the land at the mouth of the creek for themselves, but they had granted two square miles to their friend Johnston, and, though they could give no title, they could insist on the whole being included in their reserve, unless an arrangement should be made with him. They had also given him, substantially, a life-lease of a mill-seat and certain timbered lands on Scajaquada creek, six miles from the mouth of the Buffalo.

Ellicott made frequent attempts to arrange matters with Johnston, but thought him somewhat extravagant in his demands. In a letter to Cazenove, dated at Buffalo Creek, Sept. 28, 1798, Ellicott says: "I have always considered this place one of the keys to the company's lands." Three times in two pages he speaks of it as "the favorite spot."

At length he succeeded in making a compromise with Johnston, by which the latter agreed to use his influence to have the Indians leave the town-site out of the reservation, on condition that the company should deed to him the mill-site, a mile square of land adjoining it, and forty-five and a half acres in the town, including his improvements. Johnston's influence was sufficient. So, instead of the north boundary of the Buffalo Creek reservation being extended due west, along the line of William street, striking the State reservation near Fourth street, as would otherwise have been the case, it turned, just east of what is now known as "East Buffalo," and ran southwest to the creek, and thence to the lake. It is now for nearly two miles the boundary between the first and fifth wards.

About this time Sylvanus Maybee came to Buffalo as an Indian trader, and Mr. John Palmer took the place of Skinner as innkeeper.

The previous winter the legislature had authorized the laying out of a State road from Conewagus (Avon) to Buffalo Creek, and

another to Lewiston. The Company subscribed five thousand dollars for cutting them out. The first wagon-track opened in Erie county was made under the direction of Mr. Ellicott, who, in the spring of 1798, employed men to improve the Indian trail from the East Transit to Buffalo.

This trail ran from the east, even from the valley of the Hudson, crossing the Genesee at Avon, running through Batavia, and down the north side of Tonawanda creek, crossing into Erie county at the Tonawanda Indian village. Thence it ran over the site of Akron, through Clarence Hollow and Williamsville, to Cold Spring, and thence following nearly the line of Main street to the creek.

A branch turned off, running not far from North street to Black Rock, where both Indians and whites were in the habit of crossing to Canada. Another branch diverged at Clarence, struck Cayuga creek near Lancaster, and ran down it to the Seneca village.

Another principal trail ran from Little Beard's Town, on the Genesee, entered Erie county near the southeast corner of the present town of Alden, struck the reservation at the southwest corner of that town, and ran thence westerly to the Seneca village.

Besides, there were trails up the Cazenove and Eighteen-Mile creeks, and between the Buffalo and Cataraugus villages.

In 1799 little was done except to push forward the surveys. It was determined that the city to be built on the ground secured by Mr. Ellicott should be called "New Amsterdam," and he began to date his letters at that address. In that year the company offered several lots, about ten miles apart, on the road from the East Transit to Buffalo, to any proper men who would build and keep open taverns upon them. The lots were not donated, but were to be sold at the company's lowest price, on long time and without interest.

In Erie county this offer was accepted by Asa Ransom, the Buffalo silversmith, who located himself at what is now Clarence Hollow. This was the first settlement in Erie county made white-man fashion, that is, with a white man's view of obtaining legal title to the land. All previous settlement had been merely on sufferance of the Indians.

One of the first strangers who applied for entertainment at the new hotel was a young gentleman afterwards known as Colonel Harry B. Ransom. He arrived in November, 1799, and was in all probability the first white male child born in Erie county.

In this year a contract was granted evidently by special favor, to Benjamin Ellicott (brother of Joseph) and John Thomson, two of the surveyors, for three hundred acres in township 12, range 7, (Amherst,) which was not yet subdivided into lots. There is some discrepancy in the description as recorded, but I am satisfied that the contract covered the site of Williamsville, and the water-power there. The price was two dollars per acre.

The same year Timothy S. Hopkins, afterwards well known as Gen. Hopkins, came into the county and took charge of Johnston's saw-mill, the only one in the county, where he worked during the season. Notwithstanding the absence of regular settlers, the numerous camps of surveyors made "brisk times," and any one who was willing to work could get good wages and prompt pay.

Theophilus Cazenove, the general agent of the company, returned to Europe in 1799. His name, given by Mr. Ellicott to one of the largest streams in Erie county, remains as a perpetual reminiscence of his connection with the Holland Purchase. His place as agent was supplied by Paul Busti, a native of Italy, who until his death, twenty-four years later, faithfully discharged the duties of that position.

The next year the laying off of the Purchase into townships was completed, and a number of townships were subdivided into lots. Mr. Ellicott was appointed local agent for the sale of the land. While in the East, this season, he issued handbills headed "Holland Company West Geneseo lands," apprising the public that they would soon be for sale, and stating that they were situated adjacent to "Lakes Erie and Ontario and the streights of Niagara."

Mr. Ransom raised some crops this year, and T. S. Hopkins and Otis Ingalls cleared a piece of land two miles east, (in the edge of Newstead,) and raised wheat upon it; the first on the Holland Purchase. When it was ready for grinding, Mr.

H. was obliged to take it to Street's mill at Chippewa, forty miles. He went with three yoke of cattle by way of Black Rock, the whole population of which then consisted of an Irishman named O'Niel, who kept the ferry. The ferriage each way was two dollars and a half, and the trip must have taken at least four days.

CHAPTER XIV.

BEGINNING OF SETTLEMENT.

The Office at Pine Grove.—A Hard Problem.—The First Purchase.—Dubious Records.—An Aboriginal Engineer.—A Growing Family.—A Proposed School House.—A Venerable Mansion.—Chapin's Project.—The First Magistrate.

At length all was ready. In January, 1801, Mr. Ellicott returned from the East, staid a few days at "New Amsterdam," and then located his office at "Ransomville," or "Pine Grove." Sometimes he used one appellation in dating his letters, sometimes the other, apparently in doubt as to which was the more euphonious. He could hardly have anticipated that both these well-rounded names would finally be exchanged for "Clarence Hollow." Several townships were ready for sale on the Purchase, at least one of which was in Erie county. This was township twelve, range six, comprising the south part of the present town of Clarence. Though township twelve, range five, (Newstead,) lay directly east, no sales are recorded as made in it till the latter part of the year.

Very slowly, at first, the settlement went forward. The land was offered at $2.75 per acre, ten per cent. down. But precisely there—on the ten per cent.—was the sticking-point. Men with even a small amount of money were unwilling to undertake the task of clearing up the forests, or even the "oak openings," of the Holland Purchase. Those who wished to buy had no money.

In a letter to Mr. Busti, dated Feb. 17, 1801, Mr. Ellicott says: "If some mode could be devised to grant land to actual settlers, who cannot pay in advance, and at the same time not destroy that part of the plan which requires some advance, I am convinced the most salutary results would follow." A rather difficult task, to dispense with the advance and yet retain the plan which required an advance. Mr. Ellicott does not solve the problem, but he seems to have been authorized to set aside the

plan, for the time, for we soon find him selling without receiving the ten per cent. in advance.

It may be doubted whether it would not have been better, both for the company and the settlers, if the general agent had insisted on the original system. Settlement would have been slower at first, but it must have come ere long and it would have had a firmer foundation. If a man cannot raise thirty or forty dollars to make a first payment on a farm, it is very doubtful whether he will make the whole amount off from the land. Many did, but many failed.

There was, however, competition in every direction. There were large tracts yet unsold in the eastern and central parts of the State. "New Connecticut," now known as the Western Reserve, in Ohio, was in market at low rates, the same was the case with Presque Isle, (Erie,) and in Canada the British government was granting lands at sixpence per acre.

The Ohio lands appear to have been a favorite with many. On the 26th of February, Mr. Ellicott notes in his diary that over forty people—men, women and children—lodged at Ransom's the night before, moving principally to New Connecticut and Presque Isle.

Still sales went forward, especially in the present county of Genesee, next to the older settlements on Phelps and Gorham's Purchase. Some emigrants had previously come to this section for the purpose of settling on the Holland Purchase, but finding the land not in market had temporarily located in Canada, while awaiting the completion of the surveys. Some of these now returned and others came in from the East.

The first record of any person's purchasing a piece of land in Erie county in the regular course of settlement, and aside from the special grants before mentioned, is that of Christopher Saddler, who took a contract, or "article," on the 12th of March, 1801, for 234 acres on lots 1 and 2, section 6, town 12, range 6; being about a mile east of Clarence Hollow.

And here I may say that there is no certain record of the coming of the first settlers to the various towns. The books of the Holland Company only show when men agreed to purchase land, not when they actually settled.

After a short time an arrangement was made by which land

was "booked" to men who appeared to be reliable, for a dollar payment on each piece, when it would be kept for them a year before they were required to make their first payment and take an article. It soon became common for speculative persons to invest a little money in that way, in the hope of selling at a profit. Sometimes, too, men came from the East, looked up land and purchased in good faith, but did not occupy it for a year or two later. Once in a while, too, though this was more rare, a man located in the county without buying land.

Consequently the records of the Holland Company are very unreliable as to dates in regard to individuals. Moreover, I have obtained my information from certified copies of the company's books on file in Erie county clerk's office. These differ widely from the list of purchasers given in "Turner's Holland Purchase," also purporting to be copied from the company's books. Still, by comparing the two, and by eking them out with the recollections of old residents, I think I can give a tolerably clear idea of the general progress of settlement.

Besides Mr. Saddler, among those who took lands in Clarence in 1801 were John Haines, Levi Felton and Timothy S. Hopkins. Of these Mr. Hopkins was, as before stated, already a resident, and Mr. Felton probably became one that year.

The road along the old Indian trail, from Batavia to Buffalo, was not satisfactory to Mr. Ellicott. So in March he made an arrangement with an Indian whom he called "White Seneca," but whom that Indian's son called "White Chief," to lay out and mark with his hatchet a new one on dryer land. He agreed to give ten dollars, and eight dollars for locating a road in a similar manner from Eleven-Mile creek, (Williamsville,) via the "mouth of the Tonnawanta" to "Old Fort Slosher."

White Chief began on the 21st day of March, and on the 26th reported the completion of the survey of the first road. On the 28th Mr. Ellicott inspected a part of it, and appears to have been well pleased with the way in which the aboriginal engineer had followed the ridges and avoided the wet land.

In June another youthful stranger came to the Ransom hotel, in the person of Asa Ransom, Jr., the second white male born in the county, who still survives, an opulent and well-known resident of Grand Island. Mr. Ransom, senior, announced the

addition in a note to Mr. Ellicott, which the author of the History of the Holland Purchase mistakenly supposes to refer to the birth of Harry B. Ransom, who was a year and a half older. Thus, as far as known, Mr. and Mrs. Asa Ransom made all three of the first contributions to the white population of Erie county.

However, there were some older children at the little settlement which the Holland Company had named "New Amsterdam," but which the inhabitants insisted on calling "Buffalo." Though there were but very few families, and the village was not yet surveyed so that lots could be bought, yet the people felt a laudable desire for educational privileges, and in August Joseph R. Palmer, brother of the tavern-keeper, applied to Mr. Ellicott on behalf of the inhabitants for the privilege of erecting a school-house on the company's land.

He said the New York Missionary Society offered to furnish a school-master clear of expense, except boarding, and urged an immediate answer on the ground that the inhabitants had the timber "ready to hew out." Timber "ready to hew out" was a very common article on the Holland Purchase at that time, and its possession did not argue much of an advance in the construction of a building.

It shows how little root the company's name of "New Amsterdam" took among the people that, although Mr. Richards was asking a favor of the company's agent, yet he dated his letter at "Buffalo."

Mr. Ellicott went thither a few days later, and laid off a lot for school purposes. No deed was given, however, and it does not appear that any school-house was built for several years after. Part of the time the log house formerly occupied by Middaugh was used as a school house.

In the summer of 1801, the surveyor, John Thompson, put up a saw-mill at what is now Williamsville. He does not, however, seem to have done much with it, and perhaps did not get it into operation. If he did, it was soon abandoned. The same year he built a block-house for a dwelling. It was afterwards clapboarded, and a larger frame structure erected beside it, of which it formed the wing. The whole is still standing, a venerable brown edifice, known as the "Evans house," and the wing is unquestionably the oldest building in Erie county.

Only just three quarters of a century since it was built, and yet, in this county of more than two hundred thousand inhabitants, it seems a very marvel of antiquity.

In the autumn of this year Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, a physician some thirty years old, then residing in Oneida county, came to Buffalo, and was so well pleased with the location that, on his return, he got forty substantial citizens to associate themselves with him, for the purpose of buying the whole township at the mouth of Buffalo creek. As Ellicott, however, had already fixed on that as "the favorite spot" for building a city, the ambitious project of Dr. Chapin was promptly rejected.

By November, 1801, township 12, range 5, (Newstead,) was ready for sale, and on the third of that month Asa Chapman made the first contract for land in that town, covering lot 10, in section 8, at $2.75 per acre. If he settled there he remained but a short time, as not long after he was living near Buffalo.

The same month, Peter Vandeventer took four lots in sections Eight and Nine, on which he settled almost immediately afterwards, and which was long known as the "Old Vandeventer Place." Timothy Jayne was another purchaser in Newstead that year. Otis Ingalls was already there, and probably Orlando Hopkins and David Cully came that year, though one account postpones their purchases till 1802.

The last month of 1801 witnessed the first appointment of a white official of any description, resident within the present county of Erie. In that month the pioneer silversmith, tavern-keeper and father, Asa Ransom, was commissioned a justice of the peace by Governor George Clinton, the necessary document being transmitted by De Witt Clinton, nephew and private secretary of the governor.

CHAPTER XV.

1802 AND 1803.

Formation of Genesee County.—An Exciting Scene.—Red Jacket's Plea.—First Town Meeting.—Primitive Balloting.—The Big Tree Road.—Buffalo Surveyed.—Original Street Names.—Ellicott's Grand Design.—Dr. Chapin.—Erastus Granger.—Conjockety's Exploit.—The Pioneer of the South Towns.—A Hard Trip.—Snow Shoes.

Up to this time Ontario county had retained its original boundaries, including all that part of the State west of Seneca lake, except that Steuben county had been taken off. The Holland Purchase was a part of the town of Northampton.

In the spring of 1802, Mr. Ellicott, by earnest personal solicitation at Albany, procured the passage of an act creating the county of Genesee, comprising the whole of the State west of the river of that name and of a line running south from the "Great Forks." By the same act Northampton was divided into four towns, one of which, Batavia, consisted of the whole Holland Purchase and the State reservation along the Niagara.

The county seat was established at Batavia, where Mr. Ellicott had already laid out a village site, and whither he transferred his head-quarters that same spring. The new county was not to be organized by the appointment of officers until the next year.

In July an event occurred in Buffalo, which probably shook the nerves of its people more than any other occurrence before the war of 1812. John Palmer, the innkeeper, was sitting on a bench in front of his house one evening, in company with one William Ward and another man, when a young Seneca warrior, called by the whites "Stiff-armed George," approached, and endeavored to stab Palmer. It is said that no provocation was given, but perhaps there had been some previous difficulty between them.

Failing to injure Palmer, who evaded the attack, the infuriated savage turned upon Ward, and stabbed him in the neck,

though not fatally. An alarm was raised, the whites hurried to the spot, and at length secured the assassin, but not until he had inflicted three wounds on one of their number, named John Hewitt, killing him almost instantly. The Indian himself was also wounded.

Different and contradictory statements have been published regarding this affair, but the culprit was probably sent off that night to Fort Niagara, and taken in charge by Major Moses Porter, who was then in command. The next day fifty or sixty warriors appeared in Buffalo, armed and painted, threatening if "Stiff-armed George" was executed to put all the whites to death. Finding where some of his blood had been spilled in securing him, they held a grand pow-wow over it, howling fiercely, brandishing their weapons, and frightening half out of their wits all but the boldest of the settlers.

So great was the dismay that it is said some left the settlement, though where they could go for safety it would be difficult to say. Benjamin Barton, Jr., then sheriff of Ontario county, (Genesee not being organized,) was in the vicinity or arrived soon afterwards. He proposed to serve a criminal precept on the Indian and take him to Canandaigua jail. This his brethren fiercely opposed. They said that the young warrior was drunk when the offense was committed, and should not, therefore, be punished as if he had been sober. Even this the whites denied, claiming that he was entirely sober when he committed the crime, though of course it would make no difference in law.

Finally Barton and some of the chiefs went to Fort Niagara to consult with Major Porter. Arriving there they still persisted that their brother should not be taken like a thief to Canandaigua jail, and probably Barton was not desirous of the job of escorting him through the wilderness.

They pledged their words as chiefs that he should appear at Canandaigua for trial on the appointed day, and the story is that on these pledges he was allowed to depart, and that he appeared punctually on the day set. Certain it is that he was duly tried at the Canandaigua Oyer and Terminer, the next February.

Red Jacket addressed the jury through an interpreter, pleading the drunkenness of the culprit as an excuse, and descanting

eloquently on the many murders of Indians by white men, for which no punishment had ever been meted out. Nevertheless, "Stiff-armed George" was convicted. He was, however, pardoned on condition of his leaving the State, by Gov. Clinton, who probably thought it would be better to wait till the country was more thickly settled before beginning to hang Indians, if it could possibly be avoided.

During 1802, emigration began to come in quite freely. The list of land-owners in what is now Clarence was increased by the names of Gardner Spooner, Abraham Shope, John Warren, Frederick Buck, John Gardner, Resolved G. Wheeler, William Updegraff, Edward Carney and Elias Ransom. Most of these located permanently in that town, among them Abraham Shope, a Pennsylvania German, who had been waiting in Canada a year or two for the Holland Purchase to be opened for sale. His son Abraham, then three years old, who still survives in a remarkably robust old age, says he can barely remember of living in a tent in the woods that summer, before the family moved into the log house which his father had erected.

The same year land in township Twelve, range Five, (Newstead,) was charged to John Hill, Samuel Hill, William Deshay and others, most of whom soon became permanent residents.

All the persons thus far named settled either on or close to the old "Buffalo road," laid out by "White Chief," which was the only line of communication with the outside world.

Peter Vandeventer this year built him a log cabin, cleared up half an acre of land, ("just enough" as another old settler said "to keep the trees from falling on his house,") and opened a tavern, the first in Newstead.

At that little log tavern, on the first day of March, 1803, occurred the first town-meeting on the Holland Purchase. Although it was a hundred miles to the farthest corner of the town of Batavia, yet the settlements were almost all on or near the "Buffalo road," the farthest being at New Amsterdam, twenty-two miles west, and at the East Transit, twenty-four miles east. Vandeventer's was evidently selected as a central location.

A very interesting account of this, the first political transaction in Erie county, was furnished to the Buffalo Historical Society by the late Amzi Wright, of Attica, who was present.

There was a general turn-out of voters, apparently stimulated by rivalry between the eastern and western parts of the town. The little tavern was soon overrun, and the polls were opened out of doors by Enos Kellogg, one of the commissioners to organize the town. He announced that Peter Vandeventer, the landlord, and Jotham Bemis, of Batavia village, were candidates for supervisor.

The worthy commissioner then proceeded to take the vote by a method which, though it amounted to a "division of the house," was in some of its details quite peculiar. He placed the two candidates side by side in the middle of the road, facing southward, Vandeventer on the right and Bemis on the left.

"Now," said he, "all you that are in favor of Peter Vandeventer for supervisor of the town of Batavia take your places in line on his right, and you that are in favor of Jotham Bemis take your places on his left."

The voters obeyed Mr. Kellogg's directions, Bemis' line stretching out along the road to Batavia, and Vandeventer's toward Buffalo. The commissioner then counted them, finding seventy-four on Vandeventer's right, and seventy on Bemis' left. Peter Vandeventer was then declared duly elected. A primitive method truly, but there was a poor chance for fraudulent voting.

The men from east of Vandeventer's, who were considered as Batavians, then gathered in one cluster, and those from the west, who passed as Buffalonians, in another, and counted up the absentees. As in those times everybody knew everybody else within ten miles of him, this was not difficult.

It was found that but four were absent, Batavia way, and but five from the Buffalo crowd. So the whole number of voters on the Holland Purchase on the 1st day of March, 1803, was one hundred and fifty-three, of whom a hundred and forty-four were present at town-meeting. Certainly a most creditable exhibition of attention to political duty. There were probably two or three voters in the vicinity of Fort Niagara who did not attend, but these, although in the town of Batavia, were not on the Holland Purchase.

The other officers were afterwards elected by the uplifted hand. The following is the complete list:

Supervisor, Peter Vandeventer; Town Clerk, David Cully;

Assessors, Enos Kellogg, Asa Ransom, Alexander Rea, Isaac Sutherland, and Suffrenus (or Sylvanus) Maybee; Overseers of the Poor, David Cully and Benjamin Porter; Collector, Abel Rowe; Constables, John Mudge, Levi Felton, Rufus Hart, Abel Rowe, Seymour Kellogg and Hugh Howell; Overseers of Highways, (pathmasters,) Martin Middaugh, Timothy S. Hopkins, Orlando Hopkins, Benjamin Morgan, Rufus Hart, Lovell Churchill, Jabez Warren, William Blackman, Samuel Clark, Gideon Dunham, Jonathan Willard, Thomas Layton, Hugh Howell, Benjamin Porter, and William Walsworth.

Of these Vandeventer, Cully, Ransom, Maybee, Felton, Timothy and Orlando Hopkins, and Middaugh, and perhaps others, were residents of Erie county.

At this town-meeting, as at most others in Western New York at that time, one of the most important subjects which claimed the attention of the sovereigns was the wolf-question. An ordinance was passed offering a bounty of five dollars for wolf-scalps, "whelps half price," while half a dollar each was the reward for slaughtered foxes and wild cats.

The first State election on the Holland Purchase was also held at Vandeventer's in April following, (in which month elections were then held,) and in that short time the increase of population had been such that a hundred and eighty-nine votes were cast for member of assembly,

In June, 1803, Jabez Warren, by contract with Ellicott, surveyed the "Middle road" from near Geneseo to Lake Erie. Afterwards, during the same summer, he cut it out. It ran nearly due west over hill and dale, keeping a mile south of the south line of the reservation, occasionally diverging a little in case of some extraordinary obstacle.

It was called the "Middle road" by the company, but as it started from the Big Tree reservation—that is, the one belonging to the band of Indians of which "Big Tree" was chief—it was almost universally called the "Big Tree road" by the inhabitants.

Mr. Warren received $2.50 per mile for surveying it, and $10.00 for cutting it out. The latter seems astonishingly cheap, but "cutting out" a road on the Holland Purchase meant merely cutting away the underbrush and small trees from a

space a rod wide, leaving the large trees standing, making a track barely passable for a wagon.

This year, too, the first ship was built in the county by Americans. It was the schooner "Contractor," built by a company having the contracts for supplying the western military posts, under the superintendence of Captain William Lee, who sailed the schooner for six years.

In this year the village of New Amsterdam was surveyed, (though not completed ready for sale,) by William Peacock. It gives a most vivid idea of what remarkable changes may occur in a single life to learn that the man who did that work in 1803, who ran the very first street-line in the city of Buffalo, is still living. From a very early period Mr. Peacock has been a citizen of Chautauqua county, of which he has been a judge, and now resides at Mayville, at the age of ninety-six. His life completely spans the space between the forest and the emporium.

As laid out, the village extended on the west to the State reservation before described; north to an east and west line nearly coincident with Virginia street, and east to a north and south line running along or very close to the present Jefferson street. Near the creek the reservation was for a short distance the southeast boundary of the village.

About an eighth of this tract was cut up into "inner lots," generally about four rods and a half wide, intended for commercial purposes, while the rest were divided into "outer lots" of several acres each, suited for suburban residences.

The inner-lot tract was bounded west and southwest by the State reservation and the Terrace, south by Little Buffalo creek, (now Hamburg street canal,) east by Ellicott street, (except where outer lot 104 came to Main street,) and north by Chippewa street.

In these descriptions I have used the present names of streets in order to give a clearer idea of the localities. Originally, however, the names were almost all different. Ellicott determined to compliment his employers of the Holland Company to the best of his ability, and also the Iroquois preoccupants of the land.

Main street, as far up as Church, was called Willink avenue, while above Church it was Van Staphorst avenue. Niagara

street was Schimmelpenninck avenue, Erie street Vollenhoven avenue, Court street Cazenove avenue, Church street Stadnitzki avenue, and Genesee street Busti avenue. Signor Paul Busti, Ellicott's immediate superior, and his predecessor, Theophilus Cazenove, were both doubly honored, as, in addition to their respective avenues, the Terrace above Erie street was called Busti terrace, and below it Cazenove terrace. (Ellicott also proposed to call the village of Batavia "Bustiville," but the general agent himself forbade this as "too ferocious.")

The Indians were as amply honored as the Hollanders, though in their case the designations were taken from tribes instead of individuals. What is now Ellicott street was then Oneida street. Washington street was Onondaga, Pearl was Cayuga, Franklin was Tuscarora, while Morgan street rejoiced in the terrible designation of Missisauga.

Delaware, Huron, Mohawk, Eagle, Swan and Seneca streets received their present names, but Exchange was then called Crow street, in honor of John Crow, who had taken the place of John Palmer as the only hotel-keeper. His tavern, part log and and part frame, was just east of the site of the Mansion House.

In its numerous diagonal streets, all radiating from a common point, Buffalo bears a strong resemblance to Washington, which Ellicott had helped his brother to survey, and it is to be presumed the later plan was adopted from the former one, whether originating with Joseph Ellicott or his brother Andrew.

North Division and South Division streets had no existence in the original plan. Between Swan and Eagle, fronting on Main and running back about a mile, was "Outer Lot 104," containing one hundred acres. This Mr. Ellicott reserved for himself. He evidently intended to be the principal personage in the city he was designing.

Neither Onondaga nor Oneida street was allowed to cross the sacred soil of Lot 104, though both were laid out north of it, and Oneida south. Even the grand Willink-Van Staphorst avenue deviated from its course for the benefit of Lot 104. At the intersection of Stadnitzki avenue, the great central street described a small semi-circle, with a radius of several rods, curving to the westward over the open ground before "the churches," leaving Lot 104 with something like a bay-window on its front.

Here Mr. Ellicott intended to erect a palatial residence, in the center of the city he had founded, with broad vistas opening before it in every possible direction.

Up Van Staphorst avenue to the suburban hillside on the north, up Schimmelpenninck avenue to the elegant residences which were to cluster around Niagara square, along Stadnitzki avenue to the State reservation, down Willink avenue to the harbor, and especially down Vollenhoven avenue to the lake, the eye of the magnate of New Amsterdam was to roam at will, seeing everywhere the prosperity of the city which owed its existence to his sagacity.

If a somewhat selfish, it was certainly a magnificent conception. It is said, also, to have been his declared intention, after occupying it during his life, to devise the whole to the city for a permanent park and museum. The circumstances which prevented the realization of this idea will be mentioned in due time.

David Reese, a blacksmith long well known by the early residents, came to Buffalo in 1803, and John Despar, a French baker, about the same time.

A much more important acquisition was Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, who, though he had failed in his attempt to become the principal owner of Buffalo, manifested his faith in the location, in 1803, by moving thither with his family. Being unable to obtain a house, he took them over the river, where they remained two years before one was secured. Meanwhile the doctor practiced on both sides, being, so far as known, the first physician who did practice in Erie county.

For twelve years no man exercised a greater influence in the village of Buffalo than Dr. Chapin; perhaps none as great. He was of that type which naturally succeeds in a new country; bold, resolute and energetic to the last degree, generous and free-hearted with his fellows, but often reckless alike of the conventionalities of society and of the consequences of his acts. Self-confident and self-willed, he was always sure he was right, and was consequently always ready to go ahead. Like most men of that stamp, he had many warm friends and some bitter enemies, but through all the vicissitudes of his career he retained the confidence of a majority of his neighbors and acquaintances.

On his arrival in Buffalo he was a robust, broad-shouldered man of thirty, recently married, overflowing with physical and mental vigor. In his politics, as in everything else, he was a violent partisan, and his Federalism was of the most rampant description.

Another important arrival of that year was an equally decided if not so violent a Democrat—or Republican, for the anti-federal of that day was called by both names. This was Erastus Granger, a young widower from New England, and a cousin of Gideon Granger, then postmaster-general under President Jefferson. He was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, and soon afterwards postmaster, and appears to have been intrusted with the management of the politics of this section on behalf of the administration.

Though New Amsterdam was not yet ready for sale, the adjoining land in that township was, and among the purchasers in it I find the names of Cyrenius Chapin, William Desha, Samuel Tupper, Joseph Wells and James S. Young. The prices ranged from $3.50 to $5.00 per acre.

At this period a Major Perry had made an opening at the point where Main street crosses Scajaquada (or Conjockety) creek. Near its mouth was the Indian family of Conjockety. An anecdote related to me by Mr. William Hodge shows that, whatever jests may be passed upon the "noble red man," he certainly does sometimes display great coolness and courage.

On arising one winter morning, Major Perry found that one of his hogs had been killed, and either eaten or carried off. Seeing the snow around well marked with panther's tracks, he of course concluded that one of those animals had been the destroyer. He sent for Philip Conjockety, whom I suppose to have been a son of old "Skendyoughwatti," mentioned by Mr. Kirkland. Conjockety came and took the trail.

For awhile he supposed that there was but one animal, so closely did the footsteps follow each other, but at length he saw where two panthers had gone, one on each side of a tree. This rather startled him, but he concluded to go forward. Shortly afterwards he came upon one of the marauders, seated among the topmost branches of a tree, eating a piece of the captured hog. Lifting his rifle, Conjockety shot the animal dead.

The other was not then in sight, but the Indian instantly reloaded and stepped cautiously forward. In a moment more he was confronted by the angry beast, on the point of springing upon him. Again taking rapid aim, he fired as the panther was in the very act of leaping, and the next instant the slain animal fell at the feet of the intrepid hunter.

"Ugh!" exclaimed Conjockety, as he recounted the tale, "some scare me!"

Of course the Indian told his own story, but he had the two panthers to show for it.

In township 12, range 7, (Amherst,) sales were made that fall to Samuel Kelsy, Henry Lake, Benjamin Gardner, William Lewis and others, the price being put as high as $3.25 and $3.50 per acre. Settlements commenced immediately afterwards.

This year too, I find the names of Samuel Beard, William Chapin, Asahel Powers, Jacob Durham and Samuel Edsall, recorded as purchasers in Newstead, and of Andrew Dummett, Julius Keyes, Lemuel Harding, Jacob Shope, Zerah Ensign and others in Clarence.

All these settlements were in the townships through which the "Buffalo road" ran. But the hardy pioneers soon bore farther south in their search for land. In November, 1803, Alanson Eggleston became the first purchaser in township Eleven, range Six (now Lancaster). There the land was put down to $2 per acre. Amos Woodward and William Sheldon also bought in Lancaster that month.

All these were north of the Buffalo Creek reservation, which cut the present county of Erie completely in twain. Several townships, however, were surveyed south of the reservation that year, and in the fall adventurous land-hunters found their way into the valley of Eighteen-Mile creek.

On the 3d of October, Didymus C. Kinney purchased part of lot Thirty-three, township Nine, range Seven, being now the southwest corner lot of the town of East Hamburg. He immediately built him a cabin, and lived there with his family during the winter, being unquestionably the earliest pioneer of all Erie county, south of the reservation. Records and recollections agree on this point.

Cotton Fletcher, who had surveyed the southern townships, purchased land in the same township as Kinney, but did not locate there till later; neither did John Cummings, who took up the mill-site a mile and a half below Water Valley.

In November, 1803, too, Charles and Oliver Johnson, two brothers, made a purchase in the present town of Boston, near the village of Boston Center. Samuel Eaton bought farther down the creek. The price was $2.25 per acre. Charles, with his family, lived with Kinney through the winter, and moved on to his own place the next spring.

The Indians were frequently a resource of the early settlers who ran short of food. Charles Johnson, while at Kinney's, went to the Seneca village and bought six bushels of corn. He had snow-shoes for locomotion and a hand-sled for transportation. As a load of three hundred and forty pounds sank the sled too far into the deep snow, he slung part of it on his back, and thus weighted and freighted he trudged through the forest to his home.

The snow-shoe was an important institution of that era. It consisted of a light, wooden frame, about two and a half feet long and fifteen inches wide, with bars across it, the intervening spaces being filled with tightly stretched green hide. With a pair of such articles strapped to his feet, the hunter or traveler strode defiantly over the deepest drifts, into which, without their support, he would have sunk to his waist at every step. Strange as it may seem, too, old hunters declare that these forest gunboats did not seriously impede locomotion, and that the accustomed wearer could travel from three to four miles an hour without difficulty.

Kinney and Johnson with their families, in that solitary cabin in the valley of the Eighteen-Mile, were the only residents of Erie county south of the reservation in the winter of 1803 4.

CHAPTER XVI.

1804 AND 1805.

Division of Batavia.—Willink.—Erie.—Settlement of Boston.—An Ancient Fort. Ezekiel Smith.—David Eddy.—A Bride of 1804.—Aurora.—Jabez Warren.—Joel Adams.— A Hand-sled Journey.—Lancaster.—Le Couteulx.—A Strange Object.—The Pratt Family.—A Contest of Courtesy.—First Post Office.—Organization of Willink.—Erie Town-Book.—A Primitive Mill.—Deacon Cary.—William Warren.—First Grist Mill.—Williamsville.

The year 1804 was marked by a more decided advance than any previous one.

Turning first to municipal matters, we find that the town-meeting for Batavia was again held at Peter Vandeventer's, and that popular landlord was again chosen supervisor.

But at that session of the legislature a law was passed, (to take effect the next February,) dividing Batavia into four towns. The easternmost was Batavia, consisting of the first, second and third ranges of the Holland Purchase. Next came Willink, containing the fourth, fifth and sixth ranges. Then Erie, comprising the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth ranges, the State reservation and the adjacent waters. The rest of the Purchase constituted the town of Chautauqua.

It will be seen that Willink, as thus organized, was eighteen miles wide and just about a hundred miles long, extending from Lake Ontario to Pennsylvania. It contained one range of townships east of Erie county, the eastern parts of Niagara and Cattaraugus counties, and the present towns of Clarence, Newstead, Lancaster, Alden, Elma, Marilla, Aurora, Wales, Colden, Holland, Sardinia and part of Concord.

The West Transit was the line between Willink and "Erie," which last town also stretched the whole width of the State. At its southern end it was twenty-four miles wide, but it was narrowed by the lake and the Canadian boundary, so that its northern half was only from eight to twenty miles wide. It comprised one short range of townships in Chautauqua county,

the western part of Niagara and Cattaraugus, and in Erie county the city of Buffalo and the towns of Grand Island, Tonawanda, Amherst, Cheektowaga, West Seneca, Hamburg, East Hamburg, Evans, Eden, Boston, Brant, North Collins, Collins, and the west part of Concord.

This town of Erie has had a somewhat curious history, having been completely obliterated not only from the list of political organizations, but from the memories of its own oldest inhabitants. The story of its early annihilation will be told in due time.

Next to East Hamburg, Boston was the first town settled south of the reservation. In March, 1804, Charles Johnson, having erected a cabin, left his friend Kinney's and moved four miles farther into the wilderness. His brother Oliver, Samuel Eaton and Samuel Beebe followed a little later.

The Johnsons and some of their neighbors had less trouble clearing their land than most settlers in the south towns. Where they located, close to Boston Center, there was a prairie of fifty acres. Close by there was another which occupied thirty acres except a few trees, and there were some smaller ones. In the thirty-acre one there was an old fort, enclosing a space of about two and a half acres. It consisted of an embankment which even then was two feet high, with a ditch on the outside nearly two feet deep. There were a few trees growing on the embankment, one of them being a chestnut from two to two and a half feet in diameter.

From this fort there was a narrow artificial road running southwest nearly to Hamburg village. On dry ground little work had been done, but on wet land the evidences that a road had been made were plain for a long time. From Hamburg village to the lake there is a narrow natural ridge, suitable for a road, and on which one is actually laid out, called the "Ridge road."

It looks as if some band of Indians, (or of some other race,) had preferred to reside on the lake shore for pleasure and convenience, but had constructed this fortress between the hills, with a road leading to it, as a place of safety from their foes.

In this vicinity, as elsewhere throughout the county, were found large numbers of sharpened flint-stones, with which it was sup-

posed the Indians skinned deer. The largest were six or seven inches long and two inches broad, the sides being oval and the edges sharpened. If the Indians had ever used them, as seems probable, they had thrown them aside as soon as knives were brought among them by the Europeans.

I think that John Cummings located himself this spring on his land below Water Valley, becoming the first settler in the present town of Hamburg.

That same spring Deacon Ezekiel Smith came from Vermont, with his two sons, Richard and Daniel, and bought a tract of land two miles southeast of Kinney's, in what has since been known as the Newton neighborhood. A young man named David Eddy came with him and selected land near Potter's Corners. Smith returned for his family, leaving his sons to clear land.

In September he came back, with his wife, several daughters, and two or three others, and five more sons, Amasa, Ezekiel, Zenas, Amiah and Almon. Such a family was of itself enough to start a pretty good settlement. Four of the seven sons were married. With them came another big Vermont family, headed by Amos Colvin, with his sons Jacob, George, Luther, Amos and Isaac.

One of Deacon Smith's daughters, Sarah, was then a bride of seventeen, the wife of Jacob Colvin. She is still living, at the age of eighty-nine, and well-known throughout East Hamburg as "Aunt Sarah Colvin." When I saw her in the summer of 1875, she was perfectly erect, active about the house, and showed less of the marks of age than most women of seventy. More than the allotted span of man's life has passed away since she came, a married woman, into the wilderness; she has seen the wolves and bears prowling around the cabins of the earliest settlers; she has seen the forest give place to broad and fertile fields; she passed, more than sixty years ago, through the alarms of border war, and still remains a remarkable example of the vigorous pioneer women of Erie county.

With the same colony came David Eddy, his brother Aaron, and his brother-in-law Nathan Peters, with his sister Mary as housekeeper. Mrs. Colvin in describing the journey mentions that Mary Eddy, a young woman of some education, and a

pioneer school-teacher in both Hamburg and Aurora, walked every step of the way from Buffalo to Kinney's place on the Eighteen-Mile.

The Eddys went to the land selected by David near East Hamburg village, and were the first settlers in that vicinity. John Sumner moved there that year or the next. Obadiah Baker bought there that year, and soon became a permanent resident.

In June, 1804, Joel Harvey located at the mouth of the Eighteen-Mile on the west side, being the first settler in the present town of Evans, and the farthest one up the lake in the county of Erie.

Meanwhile another settlement had been commenced farther east. Jabez Warren, when cutting out the Big Tree road, must have been extremely well pleased with the land about Aurora, for on the 17th of April, 1804, he took a contract for four entire lots, comprising the greater part of the site of the village of East Aurora, and a large territory adjoining it on the north and west. The tract contained 1,743 acres, being the largest amount purchased in the county by one person at any one time. The price was $2 per acre.

The same day Nathaniel Emerson, Henry Godfrey, (a son-in-law of Warren,) Nathaniel Walker, John Adams and Joel Adams took contracts covering the whole creek valley, for three miles above East Aurora, at $1.50 per acre. This was the cheapest that any land was sold in the county, though it included some of the best.

In May Rufus and Taber Earl located in the southeast corner of East Aurora village. Joseph Sears is said to have purchased lot 23, since known as "The Square," but though he afterward settled on it he remained but a short time.

Four or five other persons made purchases during the summer, but out of the whole list, though most of them became permanent residents, only one, Joel Adams, remained with his family through the winter. Taber Earl, however, built him a house and moved into it immediately after buying his land. His wife was the pioneer woman in the county, south of the reservation and east of the West Transit. But Earl with his family wintered in Buffalo.

Warren cleared a small space and built him a log house at the west end of East Aurora, but did not occupy it that year.

Joel Adams, already a middle-aged man, built him a cabin on his land, where he worked alone through the summer. In the fall he brought on his family, except the oldest son. Besides him there were five hardy boys. On his way Mr. Adams was obliged to leave a bag of meal at a mill near Warsaw, the horrible roads being impassable for any but the lightest loads.

In the winter the family ran out of breadstuffs. Thereupon the two oldest boys set out on foot after that bag of meal, twenty-five miles away. They secured the prize and brought it through in safety on a hand-sled, though the necessary slowness of their progress compelled them to sleep out one or two nights in the snow.

Such were the tasks of the youth of that period. Hardship, however, does not seem to have had any deleterious effects on the Adams boys, for three of them, Enos, Luther and Erasmus, lived to extreme old age, being well known to all citizens of Aurora. Erasmus, the youngest, still survives at the age of eighty-five, one of the most active men in town. On going to see him, a year ago, to get some reminiscences of his early life, I found he had taken a walk for exercise to a friend's some three miles distant; so I was obliged to postpone the interview.

In connection with the first settlement of Aurora, it may be noted that there, as in so many other places, were found indications of ancient occupancy. A little north of the village of East Aurora, and close to the north line of the town, are several abrupt hills, almost surrounded by muddy ponds and by low grounds once undoubtedly covered with water. Two of these hills, thus conveniently situated for defense, were found fortified by circular breastworks, resembling those in Boston.

There is also a tradition of bones of "giant size" being dug up there at an early day, but I am somewhat skeptical, not as to the bones, but the size. Exaggeration is extremely easy where there is no exact, scientific measurement.

Silas Hill, John Felton, Thomas Hill, Charles Bennett, Cyrus Hopkins and others were added to the list of purchasers in Newstead this year, and all of those named became permanent settlers.

In Clarence, there were David Bailey, Peter Pratt, Isaac Vánorman, Daniel Robinson, Riley Munger, David Hamlin, Jr., and others. It was probably in 1804 that Asa Ransom built a sawmill on the little stream to which his name had been given.

Timothy S. and Orlando Hopkins removed to what is now Amherst this year, and among the new comers in that township were Samuel McConnell, who located near Williamsville, Caleb Rogers, Stephen Colvin, Jacob Vanatta, and Joel Chamberlain.

Occasional German names will have been seen among the emigrants to the north towns. These, however, were all "Pennsylvania Germans," or "Mohawk Dutch;" that is, persons of German or Dutch descent, whose families had been established in Pennsylvania or the Mohawk Valley for two or more generations. There was not then a solitary emigrant directly from Germany in the county, nor for a long time afterwards.

Among the purchasers in Lancaster in 1804 were James Woodward, Warren Hull, Matthew Wing, Joel Parmalee and Lawson Egberton. Mr. James Clark, of Lancaster, states that he has ascertained that James and Amos Woodward were the first settlers in Lancaster, locating at Bowman's Mills, and it was probably in 1804 that they came. Hull, Eggleston, James and Luther Young, and Parmalee, all settled east of Bowman's Mills shortly after the Woodwards.

In Buffalo there was a decided development during the year 1804, and several men who exercised a strong influence for many years then became residents.

One of these was Mr. LeCouteulx, whose full appellation was Louis Stephen Le Couteulx de Caumont, a French gentleman of good family, then forty-eight years of age, who had for seventeen years been a citizen of the United States. A gentle and genial spirit, his placid face, mild blue eyes, gray hair carefully parted in the middle, neat dress and precise manners seemed somewhat out of place amid the stumps, Indians and frontiersmen of New Amsterdam, yet his aimiability and integrity gained him many friends, and his good business habits procured him reasonable success, and in his old age even affluence. Soon after his arrival he built him a frame house on Crow (Exchange) street, near Willink avenue, where he resided, and in one part of which he established a drug-store, the first in the county.

Some of the Buffalo land was as cheap as any in the county. N. W. Sever bought two outer lots containing sixty-four acres in the bend of the creek, south of the Ohio basin, for $1.81 per acre.

What is more remarkable, outer lot 84, comprising several acres between Willink avenue and Buffalo creek, (that is to say west of Main street,) now occupied by Central Wharf and long rows of warehouses, was sold in 1804 to Samuel McConnell for $1.50 per acre! Sanguine as were Ellicott's ideas regarding the future of Buffalo, he supposed that the business would all be done north of the hill at Exchange street, and in one letter expressed his belief that the flats below would, when drained, make excellent meadows!

Inner lots, near the corner of Willink avenue and Crow street, which was the centre of business, sold at one hundred to two hundred dollars each. Payments of $10 to $30 in hand were usually made, the rest being distributed through several installments. Merchant Maybee paid $135 for Lot 35, corner of Willink avenue and Seneca street, running through to Cayuga. He paid $15 down, $12 the next year, and then payment was stopped till 1815, when some one else took a deed.

Great care was taken to encourage actual settlers, and when Zerah Phelps bought inner lot No. 1, lying just east of the site of the Mansion House, he had to agree to build a house twenty-four feet square, and clear off half an acre of land. Similar agreements were made with other city purchasers.

Outside the village limits, but within the present city, Rowland Cotton bought a hundred and forty-three acres at what is now the corner of Main and Amherst streets, for $3.50 an acre.

Abner Gilbert took lot Thirty-four, now the southeast corner of Main and Utica streets, for five dollars an acre. There was an Abner Gilbert in the family whose captivity I have before related, and it is quite possible that he returned to inhabit the scene of his early hardships, though there is no evidence of it but the name. He certainly did not remain long.

In accordance with the previous arrangement with Ellicott, though apparently it was somewhat modified, William Johnston received a deed of several valuable inner lots, and of outer lot 93, comprising forty acres south of Crow and east of Onondaga (Washington) streets.

One day in September, 1804, a hitherto unknown phenomenon came slowly swaying down Willink avenue, picking its way among the stumps, and curving around the hillocks in that primeval thoroughfare. It was a carriage—a private carriage—the first one ever seen in Erie county, and probably the first that ever crossed the Genesee. It was a most luxurious vehicle, according to the ideas of that day, new and strongly built, its drab-colored sides splashed with the mud of numberless mudholes through which it had passed since leaving the far-off State of Vermont.

As it wended its tedious course down the wide highway now bordered by lofty blocks and palatial residences, we may be sure that from the few log cabins and diminutive frames on either side every head was thrust forth in scrutinizing wonder, while the red men who were ever strolling about the village uttered their "Ughs" with more than ordinary emphasis, as they gazed on this novel institution of the pale-faces. From the carriage windows peered the equally curious faces of several children, gazing with wide-open eyes at the strange scenes on either side, while behind them appeared a woman's thoughtful, perhaps saddened, features. One or two open wagons followed, containing some of the male members of the new family and an ample supply of furniture.

The vehicles turned into Crow street, and halted before John Crow's log-and-frame mansion. The family which then alighted was one whose members and descendants have ever since, in successive generations, been prominent in the social and commercial history of Buffalo, that of Captain Samuel Pratt.

While on his way to and from Detroit, on a fur-buying trip, in 1802–3, Captain P. had been so strongly impressed with the commercial advantages of the little log village at the foot of Lake Erie that he determined to locate there, and engage in the fur-trade. As he had reached the age of forty, had a large family and was possessed of a comfortable property, his eastern friends thought his proposed removal little less than lunacy.

He, however, persevered, had a carriage built on purpose, so that his family might be as comfortable as possible on their long journey, and in due time they drew up before Crow's tavern.

As they did so they were met by Erastus Granger, the super-

intendent of Indian affairs, who greeted the captain with the utmost warmth, made his politest bows to the lady, and immediately placed his room in the tavern at the disposal of the family while awaiting the preparation of their residence. Mr. Pratt was profuse in his thanks for this great kindness, Mr. Granger equally profuse in assurances that *he* was the party most honored by the arrangement. The salaams on both sides were numerous and profound.

Meanwhile the mother and children peered into the apartment over which so much politeness was being expended. They discovered a room some twelve feet square, with rough log walls, a floor of split logs, and a bedstead of poles in the corner. Mrs. Pratt's face grew sad at the dismal prospect, and at least one of the children could hardly keep from laughing over the seeming disproportion between the gentleman's compliments and the subject of them. None the less Mr. Granger's offer was generous and timely, and his apartment was probably the most elegant one in Buffalo.

The only survivor of this scene old enough to remember it is Mrs. Esther Pratt Fox, then a girl of six, now a most amiable lady of seventy-eight, who still laughs when she describes the politeness expended over the log room in Crow's tavern.

Captain Pratt soon built him a frame house, the first one of any considerable size in the village, and also a store in which he began trading with both Indians and whites. His business, especially with the former, soon became extensive, principally in buying furs, and during all his residence he maintained their unwavering confidence.

The only other store in the village, and in fact in the county, at this time, was that of Sylvanus Maybee, unless Vincent Grant already had one.

The only other event it is necessary to notice in this year is the establishment of a post-route and post-office. A law was passed in the spring, establishing a route from Canandaigua to Ft. Niagara, by way of Buffalo Creek. In September following it was put in operation, and Erastus Granger was appointed the first postmaster in Erie county, his office being denominated "Buffalo Creek." Even Congress would not recognize the unfortunate name of New Amsterdam.

The new postmaster's duties were not onerous. Once a week a solitary horseman came from Canandaigua, with a pair of saddle-bags containing a few letters and a few diminutive newspapers scarcely larger than the letters, and once a week he returned from Fort Niagara with a still smaller literary freight.

During 1805 there is no record of any new townships being occupied, but the work of improvement progressed rapidly around the settlements already made.

In accordance with the law of the previous year, the towns of Willink and Erie were organized in the spring of 1805. The first town-meeting in Willink was held at Vandeventer's, all the voters being north of the reservation, except Joel Adams in Aurora and Roswell Turner in Sheldon, Wyoming county. The following officers were elected:

Supervisor, Peter Vandeventer; Town Clerk, Zerah Ensign; Assessors, Asa Ransom, Aaron Beard, John J. Brown; Collector, Levi Felton; Commissioners of Highways, Gad Warner, Charles Wilber, Samuel Hill, Jr.; Constables, John Dunn, Julius Keyes; Overseers of the Poor, Henry Ellsworth and Otis Ingalls.

The first town-meeting in the town of Erie was held at Crow's tavern, but the record of it was destroyed, with nearly all others pertaining to that town, in 1813. In fact, notwithstanding the law, it would be difficult to establish the actual, organized existence of such a town, were it not for a rough little memorandum-book, preserved among the treasures of the Buffalo Historical Society. It is marked "Erie Town Book," but it does not show any of the usual town-records except receipts from licenses to sell liquor.

Five of these were recorded in 1805, three being to persons in the present county of Erie and two at Lewiston. There was one in Buffalo to Joshua Gillett, and one to "The Contractors by S. Tupper." There must, however, have been others. Certainly Landlord Crow must have had one. The price of licenses was five dollars each. Orlando Hopkins was collector of the town that year, and the whole general tax was a hundred and fifty dollars.

"The Contractor's Store," a somewhat noted institution of that day, was started in the fall of 1804, or spring of 1805, by

the gentlemen who had contracts for supplying the military posts of the West. It was at first in charge of Samuel Tupper, who came to Buffalo about that time, and may have been one of the contractors. The fact that he was appointed a judge of Genesee county in the fall goes to show that he was not a mere clerk. He was the first person within the limits of Erie county who had a right to the appellation of judge. There have been a good many since.

About the same time, Zenas Barker began keeping on the Terrace a rival tavern to Crow's. At the fall term of the Court of Common Pleas, both Crow and Barker were licensed to keep ferries across Buffalo creek; the former at the mouth and the latter at what was afterwards known as the Pratt ferry. Another new-comer was William Hodge, a most energetic young man, only twenty-three years of age, but having already a wife and two children, one of whom, then five months old, was William Hodge, Jr., now a venerable and highly respected citizen of Buffalo. Mr. H. soon established himself on lot 35, now corner of Main and Utica streets, remaining in that vicinity throughout his life.

Besides the two Buffalo liquor-licenses recorded in 1805, there was one to Nathaniel Titus, who in that year opened a tavern at the bend of the lake, in what is now Hamburg. His place was afterwards long known as the Barker stand.

Among other settlers in Hamburg, Abner Amsden located himself on the lake shore, four miles above Titus, where his son Abner still lives. The latter, then eleven years old, is now eighty-two. I found him last year two or three miles from home, and so busy getting a load of lumber that he could not stop to talk much. He said, however, that he had lived on that same farm seventy years, and the longer he lived on it the better he liked it.

"You can't wear the country out," said the old gentleman, "if you farm it right;" and he has certainly tried it long enough to know.

Jotham Bemis, (or "old Captain Bemis" as he was called,) Vandeventer's opponent in the middle-of-the-road contest for the supervisorship, purchased land in Hamburg in 1805, and then or soon after located himself near the site of Abbott's Corners.

Tyler Sackett, Russell Goodrich, Rufus Belden, Abel Buck, Gideon Dudley, Samuel P. Hibbard, King Root, Winslow Perry and others came about the same time or a little later.

In East Hamburg, Jacob Eddy, (father of David) and Asa Sprague settled near Potter's Corners. Among other immigrants were William Coltrin, Samuel Knapp and Joseph Sheldon. The "Friend" or Quaker element began to center about Potter's Corners, giving to that locality characteristics which it has ever since to some extent retained.

In 1805, Daniel Smith, son of Deacon Ezekiel, put up a rude mill, for grinding corn only, on a little stream since called Hoag's Brook, two miles southwest of Potter's Corners. It was a log building about eighteen feet square, with wood gearing, and would grind five or six bushels a day.

David Eddy also built a saw-mill for the Indians, by contract with superintendent Granger, on Cazenove creek, near what is now "Lower Ebenezer." It furnished the first boards for the inhabitants of the south towns. The cranks, saws, etc., had to be transported from Albany. The same enterprising pioneer raised nearly a thousand bushels of corn in his first crop, having prepared the ground by chopping down the trees and burning the tops, leaving the bodies on the ground.

To Boston, in 1805, came Deacon Richard Cary, a godly soldier of the Revolution, who had shared the hardships of the northern army in its vain but gallant adventure against Quebec, and had followed the footsteps of Washington through the terrible campaigns of the Jerseys. The extreme poverty of the pioneers of the Holland Purchase has been the theme of frequent description, and I think their descendants are somewhat proud of it—or, rather, proud of their surmounting such difficulties. There were so many cases of men bringing their families to their new homes on ox-sleds, and arriving with from fifty cents to five dollars each, that I can not mention the half of them. Deacon Cary, however, is fairly entitled to special notice in this respect, for when he reached the valley of the Eighteen-Mile he had just three cents in his pocket and was two dollars in debt. A sick wife and eight children explain the condition of his finances.

To shelter these ten persons there was a log cabin twelve feet

square, with a one-slope roof, in which a blanket served as a door, and a piece of factory cloth stretched over a hole did duty for a window. The Johnsons and Cary all took their first crops of wheat to be ground at Chippewa, full forty miles distant.

In Aurora there was a considerable influx of emigration. Jabez Warren moved his family thither in March (on an ox-sled of course); Emerson and Godfrey came with him. Taber Earl came back from Buffalo, Thomas Tracy and Humphrey Smith, purchasers of the previous year, occupied their lands, and settlement in Aurora was fairly under way. The price of land was two dollars per acre.

Jabez Warren's oldest son, William, who, though not twenty-one till the July following, had been married two years, also came, received a part of the tract entered by his father, and made a clearing at the east end of East Aurora village; cutting down the soft maples and basswoods, but only girdling the harder trees. In August he had five acres thus cleared, four of which he sowed to wheat, and in telling the story he adds: "I got bouncing wheat." He then brought his family, making the seventh in that township.

William Warren, since better known as General Warren, was a smooth-faced, good-looking youth, of amiable disposition and pleasant manners, who would not have been picked out from his appearance as peculiarly adapted to endure the hardships of frontier life. Yet he has survived them all, and still remains in reasonably good health, at the age of ninety-two, to tell the story of his remarkable career. Until a few years since he continued to dwell at East Aurora, but has latterly resided at Knowlesville, Orleans county.

The future general had an early predeliction for military affairs, had been an "ensign" of militia at his former home, and immediately after his arrival in Erie county was commissioned as captain. His district embraced all the south part of Erie and Wyoming counties. With his commission came an order to call his company together for organization. He did so and nine men responded.

In Newstead Archibald S. Clarke purchased, and soon settled, on the Buffalo road, about a mile and a half southwest of Akron, becoming ere long one of the most prominent citizens of the

county. Aaron Dolph came about the same time, and among other names of immigrants of that period are John Beamer, Eli Hammond, Salmon and George Sparling, and Henry Russell.

Among other settlers in Clarence in 1805, were Thomas Clark, Edmund Thompson and David Hamlin, Sr. His son Lindsay Hamlin, then eleven, is one of the earliest surviving residents of Clarence. He thinks that when he came in 1805 Asa Ransom had both a saw-mill and a grist-mill. If so the latter must have been built as early as 1804. Other data fix the year at 1805. At all events it was the first mill for grinding wheat in the county, and was for several years the sole resort of the settlers north of the reservation.

Mr. Hamlin states that when he came the "openings" occupied half the space for four miles west and south of Clarence Hollow, and along the Lancaster line. They were small prairies of a few acres each, surrounded by oak and pine. They were very productive, and the settlers used to raise from sixty to eighty bushels of corn per acre.

The names of John Hersey, Alexander Logan, and John King appear as purchasers in Amherst this year. One of the events of the season there was the opening of a tavern by Elias Ransom, three miles west of Williamsville, and another was the marriage of Timothy S. Hopkins in the log house built by Thompson four years before, which has now become the venerable clapboarded, dun-colored "Evans house."

A more important event was the advent of Jonas Williams. He had been a clerk in the land-office, and when on his way to Chautauqua county on business for the company had been captivated by the grand water-power on Ellicott's creek. He bought the land and the abandoned mill, of Thompson, and in the spring of 1805 began to rebuild the mill, becoming the founder of the village which still bears his name.

CHAPTER XVII.

PIONEERING.

Poverty.—An Aristocratic Mansion.—A Horse Bedstead.—Oxen.—A Raising.—Clearing Land.—The Logging Bee.—The Rail Fence.

I have now shown the general course of events, as accurately as I could, down to a time when settlement had got pretty well started in Erie county. Still everything was in the rudest form, and the daily lives of the settlers was of the very hardest description.

Whenever there was something peculiar in any of the numerous stories of pioneer experience which I have read or listened to, I have narrated it, and shall do so hereafter. It would, however, have been entirely impracticable to publish each individual experience, or the ordinary events in each town, because so many of them were closely similar to each other. There would have been twenty-five town histories all very much alike. The object of this chapter is to consolidate these numerous accounts, and give a general idea of what pioneering was in Erie county in its earliest stages.

In the first place, it may be said roundly that all the early settlers of this county, as of the whole Holland Purchase, were extremely poor. The exceptions were of the rarest. Over and over again Mr. Ellicott mentions, in his letters to the general agent, the absolute necessity of making sales with little or no advance payment. Over and over again we find men buying from one to two hundred acres, the amount paid down being twenty dollars, ten dollars, five dollars, and even a smaller sum.

When we see Sylvanus Maybee, the Buffalo merchant, paying but $15 down for a village lot, twelve dollars the next year, and then failing to pay altogether; when we find Erastus Granger, superintendent of Indian affairs and post-master of Buffalo, sleeping on a pole bedstead, with a puncheon floor to his room, we can imagine the condition of the general run of settlers.

There was not, at the end of 1805, a grist mill in the county,

except Asa Ransom's, which was small and poorly supplied with water. There was no saw mill south of the reservation, and but two or three north of it. Except a few little buildings in Buffalo, there was not a frame house in the county. The structures under which the earliest settlers sheltered themselves and their families hardly rose even to the dignity of log houses. They were frequently mere cabins of small logs, (there not being help enough to handle large ones,) covered with bark. Sometimes there was a floor of split logs, or "puncheons," sometimes none. A log house sixteen feet square, with a shingle roof, a board floor, and a window containing six lights of glass, was a decidedly stylish residence, and its owner was in some danger of being disliked as a bloated aristocrat.

The furniture was as primitive as the houses. Sometimes a feather-bed was brought on an ox-cart to the new home, sometimes not. Bedsteads were still rarer, and chairs pertained only to the higher classes. Substitutes for the latter were made by splitting a slab out of a log, boring four holes in the corners, and inserting four legs hewed out of the same tree.

A bedstead was almost as easily constructed. Two poles were cut, one about six feet long and the other three. One end of each was inserted in an auger-hole, bored in a log at the proper distance from the corner of the house; the other ends were fastened to a post which formed the corner of the structure. Other poles were fastened along the logs, and the frame was complete.

Then, if the family was well off and owned a bed cord, it was strung upon the poles; if not, its place was supplied by strips of bark from the nearest trees. This was called by some a "horse bedstead," and by some a "Holland Purchase bedstead."

Usually the emigrant brought a small stock of provisions with him, for food he knew he must have. These, however, were frequently exhausted before he could raise a supply. Then he had to depend on the precarious resource of wild game, or on what his labor could obtain from his scarcely more fortunate neighbors.

Even after a crop of corn had been raised, there still remained the extreme difficulty of getting it ground. But in

this case, as in so many others, necessity was the mother of invention. A fire being built in the top of a stump, a hollow of the size of a half-bushel basket would be burned out and then scraped clean. Then the pioneer would hew out a rude wooden pestle, fasten it to a "spring-pole," and secure the latter to a neighboring tree. With this primeval grist-mill corn could be reduced to a coarse meal. When there were several families in a neighborhood, one such machine would serve them all. It was sometimes called a "plumping mill."

Another way was to flatten a beech log, hollow it out, fit a block into the hollow and turn the block with a lever.

The clothes of both men and women for the first few years were such as they brought from their former homes. If these were plentiful, the owners were comfortable; if scanty, they were patched till their original material was lost beneath the overlying amendments.

When the emigrant was unmarried, he frequently came on foot and alone, with only an axe on his shoulder, selected a location miles away from the nearest settler, put him up the rudest kind of a cabin, and for awhile kept bachelor's hall, occasionally visiting some friendly matron to have his bread baked or his clothes repaired.

When a family came it was almost invariably behind a yoke of oxen. These patient animals were the universal resource of the first pioneers of Western New York. Cheap, hardy, and far better adapted than horses to the terrible roads of those days, they possessed the further advantage of being always transmissible into beef, in case of accident to them or scarcity in the family. During the first few years of its settlement, probably not one family in ten came into Erie county with a span of horses.

New-comers were always warmly welcomed by their predecessors, partly doubtless from native kindness, and partly because each new arrival helped to redeem the forest from its forbidding loneliness, and added to the value of improvements already made.

If there were already a few settlers in the locality, the emigrant's family was sheltered by one of them until notice could be given to all around of a house-raising on a specified day. On that day, perhaps only a dozen men would be collected from as

many square miles, but all of them able to handle their axes as easily as the deftest clerk flourishes his pen.

Suitable trees had already been felled, and logs cut, from twelve to sixteen feet long according to the wealth and pretensions of the builder. These were drawn by oxen to the desired point, and four of the largest selected as a foundation.

Four of the most active and expert men were designated to build the corners. They began by cutting a kind of saddle at the ends of two of the logs; a space about a foot long being shaped like the roof of a house. Notches to fit these saddles were cut in the other logs and then they were laid upon the first ones. The operation was repeated again and again, the four axemen rising with the building, and shaping the logs handed up to them by their comrades.

Arrived at a height of six or eight feet, rafters made of poles from the forest were placed in position, and if a supply of ash "shakes," (rough shingles three feet long,) had been provided, the roof was at once constructed, the gable-ends being formed of logs, successively shortened to the pinnacle. Then a place for a door was sawed out, and another for a window, (if the proprietor aspired to such a convenience,) and the principal work of the architects was done.

They were usually cheered in their labors and rewarded at the close of them by the contents of a whisky jug; for it must have been a very poor neighborhood indeed in which a few quarts of that article could not be obtained on great occasions. Sometimes the proprietor obtained rough boards and made a door, but often a blanket served that purpose during the first summer. There being no brick, he built a fire-place of stone, finishing it with a chimney composed of sticks, laid up cob-house fashion, and well plastered with mud.

The finishing touches were given by the owner himself; then, if the family had brought a few pots and kettles with them, they were ready to commence housekeeping.

The next task was to clear a piece of land. If the pioneer had arrived very early in the season, he might possibly get half an acre of woods out of the way so as to plant a little corn the same spring. Usually, however, his ambition was limited to getting three or four acres ready for winter wheat by the first

of September. To do this he worked early and late, fortunate if he was not interrupted by the ague, or some other sickness.

The first thing of course was to fell the trees, but even this was a work of science. It was the part of the expert woodsman to make them all lie in one direction, so they could be easily rolled together. Then they were cut into logs from fourteen to eighteen feet long, and the brush was cut up and piled. When the latter had become dry it was fired, and the land quickly burned over, leaving the blackened ground and charred logs.

Next came the logging. When the piece was small the pioneer would probably take his oxen, change works so as to obtain a couple of helpers, and the three would log an acre a day, one driving the team and two using handspikes, and thus dragging and rolling the logs into piles convenient for burning. The first dry weather these, too, were fired, the brands watched and heaped together, and when all were consumed the land was ready for the plough.

Even an ordinary day in the logging field was a sufficiently sooty and disagreeable experience, but was as nothing compared with a "logging bee." When a large tract was to be logged, the neighbors were invited from far and near to a bee. Those who had oxen brought them, the others provided themselves with cant-hooks and handspikes. The officer of the day, otherwise the "boss," who was usually the owner of the land, gave the necessary directions, designating the location of the different heaps, and the work began. The charred and blackened logs were rapidly drawn, (or "snaked," as the term was,) alongside the heap, and then the handspike brigade quickly rolled them on top of it. Another and another was dragged up in rapid succession, the handspike-men being always ready to put it right if it caught against an obstacle. As it tore along the ground, the black dust flew up in every direction, and when a collision occurred the volume of the sooty zephyr arose in treble volume.

Soon every man was covered with a thick coat of black, involving clothes, hands and face in a darkness which no mourning garb ever equaled. But the work went on with increasing speed. The different gangs caught the spirit of rivalry, and each trio or quartette strove to make the quickest trips and the highest pile. It is even said by old loggers that the oxen would

get as excited as the men, and would "snake" their loads into place with ever increasing energy.

Teams that understood their business would stand quiet while the chain was being hitched, then spring with all their might, taking a bee-line to the log-heap and halt as soon as they came abreast of it. They had not the benefit, either, of the stimulus applied to the men, for the whisky jug was in frequent circulation.

Faster and faster sped the men and teams to and fro, harder strained the handspike heroes to increase the pile, higher flew the clouds of dust and soot. Reckless of danger, men sprang in front of rolling logs, or bounded over them as they went whirling among the stumps. Accidents sometimes happened, but those who have been on the scene express wonder that half the necks present were not broken.

As the day draws to a close a thick cloud covers the field, through which are seen a host of sooty forms, four-legged ones with horns and two-legged ones with handspikes, pulling, running, lifting, shouting, screaming, giving the most vivid idea of pandemonium that a farmer's life ever offers, until night descends, and the tired yet still excited laborers return to their homes, clothed in blackness, and the terror of even the most careless of housewives. But the work is done.

To sow the land with winter wheat was, in most cases, the next move. A patch might be reserved for corn and potatoes, but spring wheat was a very rare crop.

The next absolute necessity was a fence. The modern system of dispensing with that protection was unknown and undreamed of. Probably the records of every town organized in the Holland Purchase, down to 1850, would show that at its first town-meeting an ordinance was passed, providing that horses and horned cattle should be free commoners. Hogs, it was usually voted, should not be free commoners, while sheep held an intermediate position, being sometimes allowed the liberty of the road, and sometimes doomed to the seclusion of the pasture.

Sometimes a temporary fence was constructed by piling large brush along the outside of the clearing, but this was a poor defense against a steer that was really in earnest, and was held in general disfavor as a sign of "shiftlessness," that first of sins to the Yankee mind.

The universal reliance, and the pride of the pioneer's heart, was the old-fashioned "Virginia rail fence." Not long ago it would have been an absurdity for an Erie county writer to say anything in the way of description about an institution so well known as that. It might perhaps do to omit any mention of it now. But if any copies of this book should last for thirty years, the readers of that day will all want to know why the author failed to describe that curious crooked fence, made of split logs, which they will have heard of but never seen. Even now it is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, under the combined influences of cattle-restraining laws and the high price of timber.

One of the most important things which the emigrant looked out for in selecting a farm was an ample supply of oak, elm, ash, or walnut, for rail-making purposes. Then, when winter had put an end to other work, laden with axe, and beetle, and iron wedge, and wooden wedge, he tramped through the snow to the big trees, and perhaps for months did little else than convert them into great, three-cornered rails, twelve feet long, and facing six or eight inches on each side.

In the spring these were laid in fence, the biggest at the bottom, one end of each rail below and the other above, and each "length" of fence forming an obtuse angle with that on either side. Four and a half feet was the usual height prescribed by the town ordinances, but the farmer's standard of efficiency was an "eight-rail fence, staked and ridered." The last two adjectives denoted that two stout stakes were driven into the ground and crossed above the eighth rail, at each corner, while on the crotch thus formed was laid the biggest kind of a rail, serving at once to add to the height and to keep the others in place. Such a fence would often reach the height of seven feet, and prove an invincible obstacle to the hungry horse, the breachy ox, and even to the wild and wandering bull.

If any of the old settlers should find any mistakes in this account, I trust they will keep quiet, for the next generation will know nothing of the subject, and cannot criticise the description.

Having now narrated the story of the average pioneer, until he has provided himself with the absolute necessities of frontier life—a log house, a few acres of clearing and a rail fence—I turn again to some of the details of local progress.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1806 AND 1807.

A Tavern in Evans.—A Grist-Mill in Hamburg.—A Four Days' Raising.—First Meeting-house in the County.—Mills, etc., in Aurora.—Settlement in Wales.—The Tomahawk Story.—First Methodist Society.—A Traveling Ballot Box.—First Erie County Lawyer.—Primitive Pork Packing.—Pay as You Go.—The Little Red School-house.—Chivalry at a Discount.

In the year 1806, Joel Harvey, the first settler of Evans, began keeping tavern at his residence, at the mouth of Eighteen-Mile creek. There were some purchases made in that year near East Evans, and temporary settlements made, but according to Peter Barker, who furnished an interesting sketch of Evans to the Buffalo Historical Society, the discouraged pioneers left, and no permanent settlements were made till several years later. Mr. Harvey's was the frontier house, yet it was a good location for a tavern, on account of the heavy travel that went up the beach of the lake to Chautauqua county and Ohio.

It was in 1806, too, as near as can be ascertained, that the first regular grist-mill was erected in the southwest part of the county, probably the first south of the reservation. It was built by John Cummings, on the Eighteen-Mile creek, at a place now called McClure's Mills, a mile or so below Water Valley, in the town of Hamburg.

The raising of it was a grand affair. Old men still relate how from all the south part of the county the scattered settlers came with their teams, elated at the idea of having a grist-mill, and willing to make a week's journey if necessary to give it a start.

Yet so few were they that their united strength was insufficient to put some of the great timbers in their places. The proprietor sent to the reservation and obtained a crowd of Indians to help in the work. One does not expect very hard lifting from an Indian, but he can lift, when there is a prospect of plenty of whisky as a reward. It was only, however, after four days'

work, by white men and red men, that the raising of the first grist-mill in Hamburg was completed.

Jacob Wright about this time settled in Hamburg near Abbott's Corners, which for many years was known as "Wright's Corners."

The "Friends" in East Hamburg had become numerous enough to organize a "Friends Meeting" in 1806. This was undoubtedly the first religious organization in the county. The next year they built a log meeting-house close to Potter's Corners. It was not only the first church-building of any description in the county, but for more than ten years it was the only one.

The Quakers were equally zealous in the cause of education, and as early as 1806 built a log school-house—certainly the first one south of the reservation, and perhaps in the county. Henry Hibbard taught the first school. David Eddy also built a saw-mill on Smoke's Creek, not far from Potter's Corners.

Seth and Samuel Abbott, brothers, located two or three miles southeast of Potter's Corners in the fall of 1807, both becoming influential citizens, and the former afterwards giving his name to the village of Abbott's Corners.

Among the new settlers in Boston in these years were Jonathan Bump, Benjamin Whaley, Job Palmer, Calvin Doolittle, Eliab Streeter, and Joseph Yaw in 1806, and William Cook, Ethan Howard, —— Kester and Serrill Alger in 1807. In the latter year the settlement first attained to the dignity of having a frame barn, the proprietor being the energetic pioneer, Charles Johnson.

In 1806 or '7 the "Friends Yearly Meeting" of Philadelphia sent a mission to instruct the Indians of the Cattaraugus reserve, having bought three hundred acres adjoining the reservation. The mission was composed of several single men and women, who called themselves a family. The whole was under the management of Jacob Taylor. His nephew, Caleb Taylor, remembers the names of Stephen Twining and Hannah Jackson, as members of the family.

They located at the place since known as Taylor's Hollow, a few rods from the reservation line, where they gave instruction in farming to all the Indians who would receive it, in housework

to the squaws, and in reading, writing, etc., to the youth. Whatever the improvement made, the Quakers generally produced a favorable impression on the red men. Even the bitter Red Jacket spoke of them as friends—the only white friends the Indians had.

With this exception the valley of the Cattaraugus, including all its tributaries in Erie county, remained an unbroken wilderness till the fall of 1807. At that time two hardy pioneers, Christopher Stone and John Albro, crossed the ridge, made their own roads through the forest, and finally located on a pleasant little stream running into the Cattaraugus from the north; in fact on the site of Springville. There they and their families remained during the winter, their nearest neighbors being at least ten miles distant, in the valley of Eighteen-Mile creek.

In 1806 Phineas Stephens bought the mill-site at the "lower village" of Aurora, and that year put up a saw-mill. That year or the next he also built a grist-mill. My authorities differ but it was probably in 1807, leaving Cummings' the first grist-mill (for wheat) in the south towns. It was certainly the first framed one, as Stephens' was built of hewed logs. Among new purchasers in 1806, all of whom settled that year or the next, were Solomon Hall, James S. Henshaw, Oliver Pattengill, Walter Paine, Jonathan Hussey, Ira Paine and Humphrey Smith. The latter had a great fancy for mill-sites, and besides the one at Griffinshire where he afterwards built mills, bought the one at West Falls and the one at the forks of the Cazenove.

In 1806 or early in 1807, he does not remember which, young William Warren hung out a sign before his log house, and became the first tavern-keeper in the southeast part of the county. In the summer of the latter year the little cabin he had first lived in was converted into a school-house, where the first school in all that section was taught by Mary Eddy, the vigorous pedestrian mentioned by Mrs. Colvin. The next winter Warren himself kept school in the same house. That enterprising young pioneer was thus school-teacher, tavern-keeper and captain all at once. His second "company training" was held at Turner's Corners, in Sheldon, in 1806, when there were about sixty men present, instead of the nine of the year before. Asa Ransom had then been appointed major commandant.

Ephraim Woodruff, the pioneer blacksmith in the southeastern part of the county, opened his shop in Aurora in 1807.

In 1806 William Allen made the first settlement in Wales, locating where the Big Tree road then crossed Buffalo creek, about half a mile south of Wales Center. The road then made a half-mile curve to the south to avoid the long and steep hill east of Wales Center. The same fall Amos Clark and William Hoyt located a little east of Holmes' Hill.

This locality received its name from two brothers, Ebenezer and John M. Holmes, whose arrival, though it did not occur till the beginning of 1808, preceded the formation of Niagara county, and can, therefore, most conveniently be noted here. They came in February and located themselves on the top of the hill, close to the present west line of Wales. As both had large families—Ebenezer eight and John M. nine children—most of whom grew up and settled in that vicinity, it was natural that the name of "Holmes' Hill" should soon be adopted, and become permanent.

It may be observed, in passing, that the vegetation was at that time almost as luxuriant on the hill-tops as in the valleys, and frequently deceived the keenest of the pioneers as to the value of the soil.

Jacob Turner came to Wales in 1807 or '8, and settled near William Allen.

A curious story is told regarding early times in that town, even previous to its first settlement. In 1813 an Indian hatchet was found imbedded in a tree on the land of Isaac Hall, near Wales Center. No one could imagine how it came there, and no one attempted to explain its presence. Many years later, however, (after all danger of Indian retaliation had passed away,) John Allen, who is vouched for by those who knew him as a reliable man, made the following statement concerning it:

About the time the first settlers came to Buffalo, an Indian was in that village who showed the skin of a white child, which he boasted that he had killed and skinned. He declared his intention to make a tobacco-pouch out of his ghastly trophy. One of the few who heard him was Truman Allen, brother of John Allen, who told the story. He became so enraged that when the savage left for the southeast, Allen followed him as

far as Wales, and there shot him. He buried the slain man and his gun, but stuck the tomahawk into the tree where it was afterwards found. John Allen's story was a strange one, but I give it as it was told me by P. M. Hall, who knew of the finding of the hatchet, and heard the tale from Allen. It is also narrated in the State Gazetteer.

In 1807 the first settlement was made in the present town of Holland. Arthur Humphrey, (father of Hon. James M. Humphrey,) Abner Currier and Jared Scott began clearing farms on the creek flats, between South Wales and Holland village. Humphrey settled that year on the farm where he lived till his death, fifty years later. Currier and Scott brought their families a year or so afterwards.

In 1806 the first purchase was made in the present town of Alden, in the northwest corner, by Jonas Vanwey. According to all accounts, however, there was no settlement till some years later.

In Newstead, Elisha Geer, Jonathan Fish and others settled in 1806, and Charles Knight, Lemuel Osborn and others in 1807. Mrs. Osborn was the daughter of Knight, and still survives, a resident of the village of Akron. She is the only person remaining in Newstead, so far as I could learn, who came as early as 1807.

She relates that the first church in town was organized at her father's house just after their arrival, in July of that year. It was a Methodist society, with twelve members, and Mr. Knight was the first class-leader. Mrs. Osborn is the only surviving member.

It was the first Methodist organization on the Holland Purchase, and probably the second religious society in Erie county, the Friends' Meeting in East Hamburg being the first. It was organized by the Rev. Peter Van Ness, one of the two first Methodist missionaries who came upon the Purchase, the Rev. Amos Jenks being the other. Both were sent out in 1807, under the auspices of the Philadelphia conference.

In 1806 or '7, too, Archibald S. Clarke started a store on his farm near Vandeventer's. This was the first store in the county, outside of Buffalo, and was hailed by all the people round about as marking a decisive epoch in the advance of civilization.

Into Clarence, in 1806, came Jonathan Barrett, John Tyler, Justice Webster and others, and in 1807, Wm. Barrett, Thomas Brown and Asa Harris. The last named settled on the Buffalo road, three or four miles west from Clarence Hollow, at a point which thenceforth went by the name of "Harris Hill," though the "hill" is so low as to be hardly perceptible.

Before leaving the territory of the original town of Willink, it may be stated that, up to and including 1806, the elections were every year held at Peter Vandeventer's, and every year the worthy landlord was chosen supervisor. In 1807, however, the town-meeting was held at Clarence Hollow, and then Asa Ransom was elected supervisor.

Up to this time the scattering voters in Willink, south of the reservation, had to cross it to exercise the elective franchise. General elections, however, in those times were held three days, and in April, 1807, the southern settlers got sight of a ballot box. The election was held a day and a half north of the reservation, and on the afternoon of the second day the "board" crossed the wilderness. The next forenoon they held open the polls at Warren's tavern in Aurora, and in the afternoon, (as Gen. W. remembers it,) in Wales, at the house of Jacob Turner.

The commissioners of excise of Willink for 1807 certified to the qualifications of no less than ten persons to keep hotels in that town. Doubtless all these, and perhaps more, actually kept tavern, but there was not a single store in the town.

James Hershey and William Maltby came to Amherst in 1806, and in 1807 John J. Drake, Samuel Fackler, Gamaliel St. John and others. St. John had to pay $3 an acre for his land, while the price to the rest was $2. This was doubtless because he settled close to where Jonas Williams was vigorously striving to build up the village of Williamsville, though without much success. Mr. St. John was an energetic pioneer, with already a large family of children, and Mrs. S. was a woman of extraordinary resolution, destined to become a historical personage in connection with the burning of Buffalo.

There were still but three or four houses at Williamsville, which was generally called Williams' Mills. In one of these, near the west end of the present village, Samuel McConnell kept tavern.

In the present city of Buffalo, outside the village, Major Noble, James Stewart, Gideon Moshier, Loren and Velorous Hodge, Henry Ketchum (brother of the late Jesse Ketchum,) and many others settled during the two years under consideration. Some of the land was held at $3.50 per acre, and from that down as low as $2.25.

The village itself continued to grow, though not with the rapidity of later years, nor after the manner of some newly founded western cities.

In 1806 Joseph Landon bought Crow's tavern, refitted it, made a comfortable hotel of it, and in fact founded the present Mansion House. Landon's tavern soon became celebrated far and wide, and was the first in the county which gained especial fame as a place of good cheer.

In September, 1806, the earliest lawyer made his advent in Erie county. If any of the frontiersmen were disposed to look askance on a representative of the legal profession, as a probable provoker of disputes and disturber of society, they must soon have been disabused of their prejudices, for Ebenezer Walden, the new comer, was of all men one of the most upright and most modest. He immediately commenced practice in a little office on Willink avenue, between Seneca and Crow streets, and for a year or two was the only attorney west of Batavia.

In 1806, too, the population of the youthful city was increased by the advent of Mr. Elijah Leech and Mr. David Mather. The former was in the employ of Captain Pratt, whose daughter he afterwards married, and the latter established the third blacksmith shop in the village. He has stated that there were but sixteen houses in Buffalo when he came in April, adding, "Eight of them were scattered along on Main street, three of them were on the Terrace, three of them on Seneca and two on Cayuga streets." I think, however, that when he made this statement Mr. Mather forgot a few buildings. He mentions only the stores of Samuel Pratt and that of "the contractors,'" then in charge of Vincent Grant, while all other accounts include that of Sylvanus Maybee. Joshua Gillett also established a small store in Buffalo about that time.

Apropos of that "contractors' store," General Warren tells a story illustrative of early expedients. One fall the contractors

sent on a drove of hogs from the East, expecting that they would be killed and salted down at Buffalo, and the pork shipped in the spring to the western posts. At Buffalo, however, the man in charge (probably Vincent Grant,) discovered that there were no barrels to be had. In this emergency he availed himself of a small empty log house, which he packed full of alternate layers of pork and salt, and thus safely kept the meat through the winter.

It was probably in 1806 that the services of the Rev. Elkanah Holmes as a preacher were secured by the following primitive arrangement, narrated in after years by Mr. Landon:

In the first place the inhabitants held a meeting, and made a list of those who would help pay a preacher for a certain length of time. Then they estimated the amount to be paid by each person for each week, and it was agreed that every Sunday each man should bring his money in a piece of paper, with his name on it. The arrangement was faithfully carried out, and as strangers also contributed some the preacher's salary was made up before his time was out. That was certainly a very thorough exemplification of the motto, "pay as you go."

During the winter of 1806–7, a school was taught by a Mr. Hiram Hanchett in the old "Middaugh house." But in March of the latter year it was determined to have something better. The "little red school-house" then erected on the corner of Pearl and Swan streets, is frequently mentioned in the reminiscences of the early residents of Buffalo. Its history is interesting not only because it was the first building of its kind in what is now a great city, but because it became the subject of a somewhat famous controversy in the courts, which was not terminated till twenty-five years after the structure itself had ceased to exist.

The time and manner of building it, as well as the contributors thereto, have heretofore been a matter of doubtful tradition. Those who feel an interest in early local history will be gratified to learn that there is now in existence, among the miscellaneous papers of the Historical Society, a document which gives an authentic account of the beginning of school-house building in the city of Buffalo. This is nothing less than the original account-book, containing the subscriptions and payments toward erecting the "little red school-house" of historic fame.

It is only a memorandum-book of coarse paper, with probably the roughest brown, pasteboard cover ever seen on a book; yet it is extremely interesting, not only as giving an authentic account of the erection of the first school-house in the city, and as showing the names of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the then infant village, but also because it is one of the very few documents relating to local history which survived the conflagration of 1813. With the solitary exception of the town-book of the town of Erie from 1805 to 1808, this account-book is the most valuable article to the student of local history in the whole collection of the Buffalo Historical Society. The following is a literal copy of the first page:

"At a meeting of the Inhabitance of the Vilage of Buffaloe meet on the twenty-ninth day of March Eighteen hundred & seven at Joseph Landon's Inn by a Vote of Sd meeting Zenas Barker in the Chair for the purpos to arect a School Hous in Sd Village by a Subscription of the Inhabitanse.

also Voted that Samuel Pratt, Joseph Landon & Joshua Gillett be a Committee to See that they are appropriated on the School House above mentioned which Subscriptions are to be paid in by the first day of June next or Such part of it as Shall be wanted by that time."

And the following is a list of the subscribers and the amounts put down by each:

"Sylvanus Maybee, $20.00; Zenas Barker, 10.00; Thomas Fourth, 3.00; Joshua Gillett, 15.00; Joseph Wells, 7.00; John Johnston, 10.00; Nathaniel W. Sever, 10.00; Isaac H. Bennet, 3.00; Levi Strong, 5.00; William Hull, 10.00; Samuel Pratt, 22.00; Richard Mann, 5.00; Asahel Adkins, 5.00; Samuel Andrews, 1.00; Garret Freeland, 1.00; Billa Sherman, 87½c."

All the subscriptions were dated March 30, 1807, the day after the meeting. Each man's name was placed on a page of the book and charged with the amount subscribed, and then credited with the amount paid, either by cash, labor or material.

The carpenter work appears to have been all done by Levi Strong and George Kith, whose accounts are also in the book. Their bills for work amounted to $68.50. The credits for work and material were mostly in April, 1807, showing that the building was started immediately after the subscription.

From the fact that Joshua Gillett is credited with 2¼ gallons

of whisky on the 13th of April, I should presume that the "raising" took place on that day. But funds and credit apparently ran low, so that Buffalo remained without a school-house a year and a half more; for it was not until November, 1808, that Samuel Pratt was credited with two thousand shingles for this primeval temple of education.

The building was doubtless finished up for use that winter (1808-9,) for on the 23d day of May, 1809, there was a general settling up, and the last entries of small cash payments are made in the book.

Most of the subscribers, including Pratt, Maybee, Landon, Barker, Gillett and Wells, paid up in full, but some appear to have failed in part and a few entirely.

The book was presented to the Historical Society in 1866, by Joshua Gillett, of Wyoming county, whom I presume to have been a son of the Joshua Gillett who was one of the committee to raise funds and superintend the building. It was probably lying in a trunk, in 1813, and was carried out of town; thus escaping the general destruction of documents at that time.

Among the names mentioned as subscribers are those of William Hull, Asahel Adkins and Joseph Wells, all of whom came late in 1806 or early in 1807. Hull was a silversmith, the first in the county after Ransom quit working for the Indians. Adkins soon afterwards opened a tavern on "The Plains," long celebrated for its good cheer, and the usual resort of Buffalonians on their simple pleasure excursions in those days.

William Johnston, who at one time had held the destiny of Buffalo almost entirely under his control, died in 1807, being then the largest private land-holder in the village, except Mr. Ellicott. He had reached the age of sixty-five, and after the stormy scenes of his early life, when he had led his tories and savages against the American frontier, he sank quietly to rest, respected as a good neighbor and an intelligent citizen.

David Mather says: "I was with him a good deal during his last illness, and from what escaped him then I judged that he had been familiar with some of the most barbarous scenes of the border wars." His half-breed son John inherited his property (now of immense value,) and married a daughter of Judge Barker, but did not live long to enjoy his fortune.

I will close this chapter with the description of an amusing scene which occurred in Buffalo in the fall of 1807, related to me by Gen. Warren. Militia regiments in those days had no colonels, but were each organized with a lieutenant-colonel commanding, and two majors. In 1807, the militia of the western part of Genesee county had been formed into a regiment, with Asa Ransom as lieutenant-colonel commanding, and T. S. Hopkins and Sylvanus Maybee as majors. There had been several "company trainings," but as yet no "general training."

At the first "officer meeting" after the new appointments were made, a dispute arose between Col. Ransom and Major Maybee, as to who should be recommended to the governor for the vacant captaincy of the Buffalo company, in place of Maybee, promoted.

The war of words grew more and more furious, until at length the doughty major challenged his superior officer to fight a duel. For this infraction of military discipline Col. Ransom put the major under arrest, and reported his case to the higher authorities. In due time a court-martial was convened, Capt. Warren being one of the witnesses, and Maybee was tried and cashiered.

He must have taken his military misfortune very much to heart, for, though he had been a prominent man in Buffalo, he immediately disappeared from its records, and undoubtedly left the village, apparently preferring the discomfort of making a new home to remaining where he could not enjoy the glory of a duel, nor the honors of a militia major. Thus sadly ended the first display of chivalry in Erie county.

CHAPTER XIX.

REORGANIZATION.

Division of Genesee County Necessary.—Inconvenient Towns.—Captain Bemis' Strategy.—Erection of Niagara, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua Counties.—Short Courts.—Town Changes.—Clarence.—Willink.—Destruction of the Town of Erie.—Actual Beginning of Erie County.

In the beginning of 1808, there was a reorganization of the counties and towns of the Holland Purchase, so complete, and in some respects so peculiar, as to merit a brief chapter by itself.

Hitherto the boundaries of Genesee county had remained as at first defined, except that Allegany had been taken off in 1806, but by 1808 the inhabitants felt that they were sufficiently numerous to justify a subdivision, and, what was more important, Mr. Ellicott became satisfied that the interests of the Holland Company would be promoted by such a change, even though they should have to erect the new county buildings.

The towns, too, eighteen miles wide and a hundred miles long, which had done well enough when nearly all the settlers were scattered along the Buffalo road, were now found to be inconvenient in the extreme. Going from Fort Niagara to Buffalo, nearly forty miles, to town-meeting, was a little too much even for the ardent patriotism of the American voter. Scarcely less troublesome was it to cross the reservation for that purpose. Besides there was already a settlement at Olean, in the town of Willink, the inhabitants of which if they ever went to election, which is doubtful, must have traversed a distance of sixty miles, and twenty miles further to town-meeting, which was always held north of the reservation.

A story was told me in Hamburg, quite in harmony with the circumstances, to the effect that the Buffalonians were converted to the project of dividing the town of Erie by a piece of strategy on the part of Capt. Jotham Bemis, then resident near Abbott's Corners. They had opposed a division, as all the town business

was done at their village, bringing them more or less trade, and making unnecessary, so far as they were concerned, the expense of new towns.

So, in the spring of 1807, Capt. Bemis made arrangements for all the south part of the town of Erie to be fully represented at Buffalo, by men prepared to stay over night. It was then customary to fix the place of the next town-meeting in the afternoon, just before closing the polls.

Accordingly, all the south-country people duly appeared at Buffalo, and every man of them remained. Most of those from north of the reservation started for home early, and the villagers alone were in the minority. When the time came for appointing the next place of meeting, the gallant captain rallied his men, and it was fixed at John Green's tavern, in the present town of East Hamburg. Then the Buffalo people were willing the town should be divided, and used their influence also in favor of a division of the county.

Whether this story be true or not, certain it is that on the 11th day of March there was a complete municipal reorganization of the Holland Purchase. On that day a law was passed by which all that part of the county of Genesee lying north of Cattaraugus creek, and west of the line between the fourth and fifth ranges of townships, should form the county of Niagara. The counties of Cattaraugus and Chautauqua were erected at the same time, with substantially the same limits as now, but it was provided that neither of them should be organized until it should have five hundred voters, and meanwhile both, for all county purposes, were attached to Niagara.

It was also enacted that the county-seat of the latter county should be at "Buffaloe or New Amsterdam," provided the Holland Company should in three years erect a suitable court-house and jail, and should deed to the county at least half an acre of ground, on which they should stand. It gives a somewhat amusing idea of the amount of legal business expected to be done, to note that three terms annually of the Court of Common Pleas and two of the Court of General Sessions were provided for, and that in order to give time for the Court of Sessions it was enacted that two terms of the Common Pleas, all of which were to be held on Tuesday, might be extended till the Satur-

day following! The first court was directed to be held at the house of Joseph Landon.

By the same act the town-lines of the Purchase were changed to a very remarkable extent. A tier of townships off from the east side of Willink had been left in Genesee county. This, together with old Batavia, was cut up into the three towns of Batavia, Warsaw and Sheldon.

All that part of Niagara county north of the center of Tonawanda creek, being a part of the former towns of Willink and Erie, and covering the same ground as the present county of Niagara, was formed into a town by the name of Cambria. All that part between Tonawanda creek and the center of the Buffalo Creek reservation, also comprising parts of both Willink and Erie, was formed into a town by the name of Clarence, which as will be seen included the village of Buffalo. The first town-meeting was directed to be held at the house of Elias Ransom, (near Eggertsville.) All that part of Niagara county south of the center of the reservation, being also a part of Willink and Erie, was formed into a town which retained the name of Willink.

In the new county of Cattaraugus a single town was erected named Olean, while Chautauqua county was divided into two towns, Chautauqua and Pomfret.

It will be seen that by this act the town of Erie was completely obliterated from the map, while Willink, which had previously been eighteen miles wide and a hundred miles long, extending from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario, was changed into a town bounded by the Buffalo reservation, Lake Erie, Cattaraugus creek, and the east line of the county, having an extreme width north and south of twenty-five miles, and an extreme length east and west of thirty-five. So great was the complication caused by the destruction of the old town-lines, while retaining one of the town-names, (as well as by the subsequent revival of "Erie" as a town-name, as will be hereafter related,) that all the local historians and statisticians have got lost in trying to describe the early municipal organization of this county. Even French's State Gazetteer, a book of much merit and very great labor, is entirely at fault in regard to nearly all the earlier town formations of Erie county.

The oldest residents of the town of Erie also had forgotten its existence, and insisted that "Willink" covered the whole ground. Even the gentleman who told me the story as he had heard it, of the Bemis maneuver, supposed it related to a division of Willink. Although "Erie" was plainly laid down on a map of the Purchase made by Ellicott in 1804, I was half disposed for a while to regard it as a myth, and mentally designated it as "The Lost Town." The old town-book before referred to, however, gave me considerable faith in it, and at length an examination of the laws of 1804 and 1808, proved its existence and showed how completely the previous organization was broken up by the statute creating Niagara county.

It will have been seen that, by that law, there were but three towns in Niagara county, two of which were in the present county of Erie. As however, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua were temporarily united with Niagara, the new board of supervisors which met in Buffalo must have been composed of six members, representing a territory a hundred miles long and from twenty to seventy-five miles wide.

This was substantially the beginning of the present Erie county organization, although the name of Niagara was afterwards given to that part north of the Tonawanda. Erie county formed the principal part of old Niagara both in territory and population; the county seat of old Niagara was the same as that of Erie, and such of the old Niagara county records as are not destroyed are retained in Erie county.

Having thus reached an epoch in the course of events, another chapter of a general nature becomes necessary.

CHAPTER XX.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Pioneer's Barn. The Well. The Sweep.—Browse.—Sheep and Wolves. Sugar-making. Money Scarce. Wheat and Tea.—Potash.—Social Life.—Schools.—The Husking Bee.—Buffalo Society.—Dress.—Indians.—Loaded Beaver Claws.—Peter Gimlet.—An Indian Court.—The Devil's Ramrod.—Describing a Tavern.—Old King and Young Smoke.—Anecdotes of Red Jacket.

After the pioneer had got his log house, his piece of clearing and his fence, the next thing was a barn. An open shed was generally made to suffice for the cattle, which were expected to stand cold as well as a salamander is said to endure fire. But with the gathering of harvests came the necessity for barns, and, though log ones were sometimes erected, it was so difficult to make them large enough that frame barns were built as soon as circumstances would possibly permit, and long before frame houses were aught but distant possibilities.

All were of substantially the same pattern, differing only in size. The frame of the convenient forest timber, scored and hewed by the ready hands of the pioneer himself, and roughly fitted by some frontier carpenter, the sides enclosed with pine boards without battening, the top covered with shingles, a threshing floor and drive-way in the center, with a bay for hay on one side, and a little stable room on the other, surmounted by a scaffold for grain—such was the Erie county barn of 1808, and it has changed less than any other adjunct of the farm, though battened and painted sides, and basement stables, are becoming more common every year.

Generally preceding the barn if there was no spring convenient, but otherwise slightly succeeding it, was the well. The digging of this, like almost everything else, was done by the proprietor himself, with the aid of his boys, if he had any large enough, or of a neighbor to haul up the dirt. Its depth of course depended on the location of water, but that was gener-

ally to be found in abundant quantity and of good quality at from ten to twenty feet.

Excellent round stone was also abundant, and the settlers were never reduced to the condition of those western pioneers who are obliged, (to use their own expression,) to stone up their wells with cotton-wood plank.

The well being dug and stoned up, it was completed for use by a superstructure which was then universal, but is now almost utterly a thing of the past. A post ten or twelve inches in diameter and some ten feet high, with a crotched top, was set in the ground a few feet from the well. On a stout pin, running through both arms of the crotch, was hung a heavy pole or "sweep," often twenty feet long, the larger end resting on the ground, the smaller one rising in air directly over the well. To this was attached a smaller pole, reaching to the top of the well. At the lower end of this pole hung the bucket, the veritable "old oaken bucket, that hung in the well," and the process of drawing water consisted in pulling down the small end of the sweep till the bucket was filled, and then letting the butt end pull it out, with some help. If the pioneer had several small children, as he generally had, a board curb, about three feet square and two and a half high, usually ensured their safety.

The whole formed, for a long time, a picturesque and far-seen addition to nearly every door-yard in Erie county. Once in a great while some wealthy citizen would have a windlass for raising water, but for over a quarter of a century after the first settlements a farmer no more thought of having a pump than of buying a steam-engine.

It took longer for the pioneer to get a meadow started than to raise a crop of grain. Until this was done, the chief support of his cattle in winter was "browse," and for a long time after it was their partial dependence. Day after day he went into the woods, felled trees—beech, maple, birch, etc.—and drove his cattle thither to feed on the tender twigs. Cattle have been kept through the whole winter with no other food. Even in a much more advanced state of settlement, "browse" was a frequent resource to eke out slender stores, or supply an unexpected deficiency.

In the house the food consisted of corn-bread or wheat-bread,

according to the circumstances of the householder, with pork as the meat of all classes. Beef was an occasional luxury.

Wild animals were not so abundant near the reservations as elsewhere. They were most numerous in the southern part of the county. The Indians kept them pretty well hunted down in their neighborhood, though they had a rule among themselves forbidding the young men from hunting within several miles of their village, in order to give the old men a chance.

Venison was frequently obtained in winter, but the settlers of Erie county were generally too earnestly engaged in opening farms to be very good hunters. Sometimes, too, a good fat bear was knocked over, but pork was the universal stand-by. Nobody talked about *trichinæ spiralis* then.

Nearly everybody above the very poorest grade brought with him a few sheep and a cow. The latter was an invaluable resource, furnishing the only cheap luxuries the family enjoyed, while the sheep were destined to supply their clothing. But the keeping of these was up-hill work. Enemies lurked on every hill-side, and often after bringing a little flock for hundreds of miles, and protecting them through the storms of winter, the pioneer would learn from their mangled remains that the wolves had taken advantage of one incautious night to destroy them all. Wolves were the foes of sheep, and bears of hogs. The latter enemies, however, could generally be defeated by keeping their prey in a good, stout pen, near the house. But sheep must be let out to feed, and would sometimes stray so as to be left out over night; and then woe to the captured. Occasional panthers, too, roamed through the forest, but they seldom did any damage to the stock, and only served to render traveling at night a little dangerous.

Despite of wolves, however, the pioneers managed to keep sheep, and as soon as one obtained a few pounds of wool his wife and daughters went to carding it into rolls with hand-cards, then to spinning it, and then they either wove it or took it to a neighbor's to be woven, paying for its manufacture with a share of the cloth or with some farm products. Everything was done at home and almost everything by hand. There was not at this period, (the beginning of 1808,) even a carding mill or cloth-dressing establishment on the whole Holland Purchase, though

one was built the succeeding summer at Bushville, Genesee county.

As soon as flax could be raised, too, the "little wheels" of the housewives were set in motion, and coarse linen or tow cloth was manufactured, which served for dresses for the girls and summer clothing for the boys.

Tea and coffee were scarce, but one article, which in many countries is considered a luxury—sugar—was reasonably abundant. All over the county grew the sugar maple, and there was hardly a lot large enough for a farm on which there was not a "sugar bush."

One of the earliest moves of the pioneer was to provide himself with a few buckets and a big kettle. Then, when the sap began to stir in early spring, trees were tapped—more or less in number according to the facilities at command—sap was gathered and boiled, and in due time made into sugar. New beginners, or poor people who were scant of buckets and kettles, would content themselves with making a small amount, to be carefully hoarded through the year.

But the glory of sugar-making was in the great bush where hundreds of trees were tapped, where a shanty was erected in which the sugar-makers lodged, where the sap was gathered in barrels on ox-sleds and brought to the central fire, where cauldron kettles boiled and bubbled day and night, where boys and girls, young men and maidens, watched and tasted, and tasted and watched, and where, when the cautious hours of manufacture were over the great cakes of solidified sweetness were turned out by the hundred weight.

Money was scarce beyond the imagination of this age. Even after produce was raised, there was almost no market for it except during the war, and if it could be sold at all, after dragging it over the terrific roads to Batavia or some point farther east, the mere cost of traveling to and fro would nearly eat up the price. Wheat at one time was but twenty-five cents a bushel, and it is reported of a family in the north part of the county, in which the good woman felt that she must have her tea, that eight bushels of wheat were sold to buy a pound of tea; the price of wheat being twenty-five cents a bushel and that of tea two dollars a pound.

A little relief was obtained by the sale of "black salts." At a very early period asheries were established in various parts of the county, where black salts were bought and converted into potash. These salts were the residuum from boiling down the lye of common wood-ashes. As there was an immense quantity of wood which needed to be burned in order to work the land, it was but little extra trouble to leach the ashes and boil the lye.

These salts were brought to the asheries and sold. There they were again boiled and converted into potash. As that could be sent East without costing more than it was worth for transportation, a little money was brought into the country in exchange for it. In 1808 there were very few asheries but they afterwards became numerous.

Social life was of course of the rudest kind. Still, there were visitings to and fro, and sleighing parties on ox-sleds, and other similar recreations. As yet there were hardly any but log taverns, and hardly a room that even by courtesy could be called a ball-room. Yet dances were not infrequently improvised on the rough floor of a contracted room, to the sound of a solitary fiddle in the hands of some backwoods devotee of Apollo.

There was not, as has been seen, a church-building in the county, except the log meeting-house of the Quakers, at East Hamburg, and not an organized church, excepting the "Friends Meeting," if they called it a church, at that place, and the little Methodist society in Newstead. Even Buffalo had no church in 1808. Meetings were, however, held at rare intervals in school-houses, or in the houses of citizens, and frequently, when no minister was to be had, some layman would read a sermon and conduct the services. Dr. Chapin sometimes performed these functions in Buffalo, besides conducting the funerals, furnishing his house for dancing-school, and taking the lead in everything that was going forward. Some irreverent youth declared that the doctor "did the praying and swearing for the whole community."

Nearly every neighborhood managed to have a school as soon as there were children enough to form one -which was not long after the first settlement. The universal testimony is that log houses are favorable to the increase of population; at least that in the log-house era children multiplied and flourished to an extent

unheard of in these degenerate days. It may be taken for granted, even when there is no evidence on the subject, that a school was kept within a very few years after the first pioneer located himself in any given neighborhod, and generally a log school-house was soon erected by the people.

There was, at the time of the organization of Niagara county, only the single store of A. S. Clarke, outside of Buffalo, in what is now Erie county. Taverns, however, were abundant. Along every road men with their families were pushing forward to new homes, others were going back after their families, others were wending their way to distant localities with grain to be ground, with wool to be carded, sometimes even with crops to be sold. Consequently, on every road those who could provide beds, food and liquor for the travelers were apt to put up signs to announce their willingness to do so.

One of the principal occasions for a jollification in the country was the husking-bee. Corn was abundant, and it had to be husked. So, instead of each man's gloomily sitting down by himself and doing his own work, the farmers, one after the other, invited the young people of the neighborhood to husking-bees; the "neighborhood" frequently extending over several square miles.

They came in the early evening, young men and women, all with ox teams, save where some scion of one of the first families brought his fair friends on a lumber wagon or sleigh, behind a pair of horses, the envy and admiration of less fortunate swains. After disposing of their teams as well as circumstances permitted, and after a brief warming at the house, all adjourned to the barn, where the great pile of ears of corn awaited their arrival.

It was cold, but they were expected to keep warm by work. So at work they went, stripping the husks from the big ears and flinging them into piles, each husker and huskeress striving to make the largest pile, and the warm blood that coursed rapidly through their veins under the spur of exercise bidding defiance to the state of the temperature.

This warmth of blood was also occasionally increased by a "red ear" episode. It was the law of all well-regulated husking-bees, dating from time immemorial, that the young man to

whose lot fell a red ear should have the privilege of kissing every young woman present. Some laws fail because they are not enforced, but this was not one of that kind. It has even been suspected, so eager were the youth of the period to support the law, that the same red ear would be found more than once the same evening, and the statute duly enforced on each occasion.

A vast pile of unhusked ears was soon by many hands transferred into shining heaps of husked ones, and then the company adjourned to the house, where a huge supply of doughnuts and other simple luxuries rewarded their labors. Possibly a bushel of apples might have been imported from lands beyond the Genesee, and if the host had also obtained a few gallons of cider to grace the occasion he was looked on as an Amphitryon of the highest order.

Perchance some frontier fiddler was present with his instrument, when, if the rude floor afforded a space of ten feet by fifteen clear of fire-place and table, a dance was arranged in which there was abundance of enjoyment and energy, if not of grace, and in which the young men were only prevented from bounding eight feet from the floor by the fact that the ceiling was but six and a half feet high.

In Buffalo there was a little closer resemblance to the society of older localities, but only a little. Mrs. Fox, the before-mentioned daughter of Samuel Pratt, relates that up to the time of the war the greater part of the society enjoyed by the Buffalonians was furnished by Canada. The west side of the Niagara had been settled much earlier than the east, and naturally a much larger proportion of the people had attained a reasonable degree of comfort.

With these the few Buffalonians who made pretensions to culture were on terms of cordial intimacy. Visits were frequently exchanged, and during the long, cold winters it was a common thing for two or three Buffalo gentlemen to hitch up their sleighs, fill them with their friends, male and female, and drive across the ice to the hospitable residences of some of their Canadian acquaintances, where they were greeted with a ready welcome and ample cheer. Similar excursions were made from Canada to the homes of Captain Pratt, Dr. Chapin, Judge Tupper and others.

In the sleighs which thus drove back and forth, and which glided along the few streets of the frontier village at that period, the male figures were invariably clad in long overcoats, (or surtouts,) with broad capes, covered with a number of little capes, or "shingles," as they were then called, while the whole was surmounted by a big fur cap. Fur was cheap and abundant, and the fur cap was the universal head-wear of the masculine Buffalonian. The ladies, too, were well enveloped in fur, and each fair face retreated into the depths of a vast "coal scuttle" bonnet, which would have held a dozen bonnets of this degenerate era, and still have had room for the owner's head.

Arriving at their destination, and doffing their out-door clothing, the ladies appeared in the narrowest of skirts, and waists close up to their arms, while broad lace collars surrounded their necks, and pointed shoes adorned their feet.

The gentlemen displayed themselves on state occasions in blue, "swallow-tailed," brass-buttoned coats, buff vests and snuff-colored trowsers, and above their ruffled shirts shone smooth faces fresh from the razor, which had removed every particle of beard save when some very stylish exquisite had left a diminutive side-whisker to adorn the upper part of his cheek.

The increase of population in Buffalo had not been rapid. The exact number of families at the time it was made the county-seat is not known, but was probably about thirty-five, as the next year it was forty-three. There was, also, as in all new places, a considerable number of unmarried men, engaged in various kinds of business.

Besides these, there was a truly "floating population" of Indians, squaws and papooses, for whom Buffalo was the grand metropolis. Hardly a day passed in which a number of these children of the forest might not have seen on the streets, the men sauntering aimlessly along, or seeking to obtain whisky of whomsoever they could, the squaws frequently engaged in more honorable occupations. Sometimes they (the squaws) brought baskets of corn on their heads; sometimes chickens and eggs. Capt. Pratt's store was the principal rendezvous of Indian trade and travel. Mrs. Fox remembers that one squaw, whom she calls White Seneca, (there was also an Indian who went by that name) used regularly to bring butter to her mother, Mrs. Pratt.

Both Indians and white men brought in a great deal of game. In the winter great sled-loads of deer would be driven up to Capt. Pratt's door, and sold out to the villagers at the cheapest imaginable rates.

To Pratt, the Indians according to his daughter's recollection gave the honorable title of "Negurriyu," meaning "honest dealer." The history of the Pratt family gives his Indian name as "Hodanidaoh," meaning "a merciful man." It is not improbable that both were used. The Indians were fond of giving names. Notwithstanding the general respect for him, yet some of them were not averse to defrauding him if possible; a task rendered somewhat difficult by his quick eye and ready wit.

All fur was bought by weight; so they sometimes brought beaver-skins with the claws filled with lead. It would not do to discover it openly; that would give mortal offence and drive away a valuable customer. So "Negurriyu" would clip off the claws with a hatchet and toss them in a corner, saying at the same time that he would make proper allowance in the weight. If the Indian murmured Pratt would offer to pick up the claws and weigh them separately, but as this would expose the cheat the red man would vigorously demur, and the affair would pass over without further trouble.

A still more disreputable aborigine came near involving Capt. P. in serious difficulty. While he was building his house Mrs. Pratt had some meat boiling in a kettle out of doors. An Indian commonly known as "Peter Gimlet" was lounging about, and the savory smell of the boiling meat was too much for his feeble conscience. When he thought himself unobserved he suddenly snatched the largest piece from the pot, hid it beneath his blanket and started for the reservation. But little Esther happened to be playing near and saw the felonious transaction. Immediately she ran to her father in the store, crying out, "Peter Gimlet has stolen the meat! Peter Gimlet has stolen the meat!"

Pratt sent his son Asa after the offender, who caught him and brought him back. The captain opened Peter's blanket, exposed the theft and then proceeded to administer summary punishment by laying a horsewhip around the back and legs of the thief. The latter stood astonished for a minute, and then,

as the blows continued, he bounded away toward the Indian village, making the forest ring with his howls.

The captain replaced his whip and returned to his business. A few hours after, Indians began to arrive in front of the store. Without a word they seated themselves on their haunches in the street. Presently came more Indians and assumed the same position; then squaws with their papooses. Then more Indians, including chiefs of high degree, all squatting down in a semi-circle before the store door. Matters began to look decidedly serious.

And still the Indians kept coming, until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when there were two or three hundred of them. Then they sent for Pratt, who duly appeared, when, with the utmost decorum, the proceedings began. Farmer's Brother stood up and told the story as he had heard it from Peter Gimlet, describing how he had been flogged, without cause, by the paleface, and claiming redress in the name of his insulted honor.

Captain Pratt, in reply, made his statement, relating the theft, and calling on his daughter as a witness. Little Esther told her story in an artless way that confounded the thief, and carried conviction to the hearts of the numerous judges.

A solemn consultation was had among the chiefs. Then Farmer's Brother again upraised his gigantic form, and with all the impressiveness of his seventy years delivered judgment. It was to the effect that Peter Gimlet (calling him by his Indian name) was a bad Indian. Peter Gimlet had stolen Negurriyu's meat, and Negurriyu had inflicted deserved punishment, and if Negurriyu wished he might whip him again. He also pronounced a formal sentence against Peter of banishment from the Buffalo reservation. Then the council broke up, and Peter slunk away into the forest and was not heard of in that vicinity for two or three years.

It detracts a little from the stern justice of these proceedings that Capt. Pratt thought it incumbent on him, in accordance with Indian custom, to make a present to the members of this curious court. Accordingly he rolled out a barrel of salt for them, of which every one took a portion until all was gone.

At another time Esther Pratt had taken her infant sister, Lucy Ann, into the store and seated her on the counter. Suddenly a

Seneca squaw caught up the child and sprang away toward the forest. She was pursued and caught, and the infant was rescued. When questioned as to her motive, the squaw said that she had lately lost a child and desired to obtain one in its place.

The most startling event, however, in the Indian experience of the Pratts was when they were interrupted at the dinner table by one of the boys, Benjamin, rushing into the room, closely pursued by a warrior generally known as "The Devil's Ramrod," who was brandishing his knife and threatening to kill him. The boy had been teasing him, and it was with much difficulty that he could be appeased. At length he exclaimed, "Me no kill Hodanidaoh's boy," stuck his knife with savage emphasis into the door-post, and strode haughtily away.

Generally, however, the Indians were peaceable and well behaved. Farmer's Brother resided at Farmer's Point, the first cabin from the village line, on the reservation. Farther up, and just above Seneca street, was the old council house, a block building where the Indians were very fond of meeting in legislative session. Near it lived "White Seneca," his son "Seneca White" and others. Still farther out was the main Indian village, where Red Jacket resided, and which was scattered over a considerable space on both sides of the Aurora road, west of the present village of Ebenezer, and on the flats south of that village.

At this time the usual Indian residences were log cabins, of various dimensions and pretensions, but not differing greatly from those of the pioneers.

Apropos of Indians and log-cabins, a story is told of Farmer's Brother in Stone's Life of Red Jacket, which illustrates the difficulty of expressing a new idea in the Indian dialects, except by the most elaborate description. At a very early day, he with other chiefs went from Buffalo creek to (I think) Elmira, to meet some white commissioners. On their way they stopped one night at a log-tavern, newly erected in the wilderness. In describing their journey to the whites, he said they stayed at "a house put together with parts of trees piled on each other, to which a pole was attached, to which a board was tied, on which was written 'rum is sold here.'"

In 1808 Farmer's Brother was recognized as the principal man among the Indians, all things considered, though Red Jacket

was put forward whenever they wanted to make a display in the eyes of the whites. He seems, too, to have been accorded by general consent the rank, so far as there was any such rank, of principal sachem, or civil chief, of the Senecas. Farmer's Brother was a war-chief.

Many of the whites attributed a supremacy of some kind to Guienguatoh, commonly called "Young King," and sometimes "Young Smoke." He was said to be the son of Sayengeraghta, otherwise "Old King," otherwise "Old Smoke," who was undoubtedly up to the time of his death principal civil sachem of the Senecas.

Rev. Asher Wright, of the Cattaraugus mission, explained while living that Guienguatoh meant in substance "the Smoke Bearer," that is, the hereditary bearer of the smoking brand from the central council-fire of the Iroquois confederacy to that of the Seneca nation. As near as I can make out, the whites got the two names intermingled, by thinking that father and son must both have the same name or title; whereas the only thing certain about Indian nomenclature was that they would *not* have the same name or title.

I imagine that the true designations were "Old King" and "Young Smoke." That is to say, Sayengeraghta, being an aged head-sachem, might fairly be called "Old King," while his son, who inherited from his maternal uncle the position of brand-bearer, could properly be termed "Young Smoke." But the whites, thinking that the son of "Old King" must certainly be "Young King," applied that title to the younger man, which he was not unwilling to wear. They also gave the son's appellation to the father, sometimes calling him "Old Smoke," and I understand that it was from the old man that Smoke's creek derived its name.

If Red Jacket was sincere when he professed to Washington his desire for improvement, he soon changed his mind, and from early in this century to the time of his death was the inveterate enemy of civilization, Christianity and education. Although he understood English when he heard it, he generally pretended to the contrary, and would pay no attention to what was said to him in that language. He could only speak a few words of English, and would not learn it, though he could easily have

done so. He was never weary of holding councils with the whites, and rarely failed to repeat the story of the wrongs their countrymen had done to the Indians.

Numerous are the anecdotes told of his opposition to his people's learning anything from the whites. More than once he said to the missionaries who sought to convert him :

"Go, preach to the people of Buffalo ; if you can make them decent and sober, and learn them not to cheat the Indians and each other, we will believe in your religion."

He declared that the educated Indians learned useless art and artificial wants. Said he :

"They become discouraged and dissipated ; despised by the Indians, neglected by the whites, and without value to either ; less honest than the former and *perhaps* more knavish than the latter."

Again, he said to some missionaries, in sarcastic rejection of their offers :

"We pity you, and wish you to bear to our good friends in the East our best wishes. Inform them that, in compassion toward them, we are willing to send them missionaries to teach them our religion, habits and customs."

He was sarcastic, too, on another point :

"Before the whites came," said he, "the papooses were all black-eyed and dark-skinned ; now their eyes are turning blue and their skins are fading out."

Professor Ellicott Evans, grand-nephew of Joseph Ellicott, relates an anecdote which he says he had from the lips of his grand-uncle, concerning himself and Red Jacket. It is substantially as follows :

The two having met in Tonawanda swamp, they sat down on a log which happened to be convenient, both being near the middle. Presently Red Jacket said, in his almost unintelligible English :

"Move along, Jo." Ellicott did so and the sachem moved up to him. In a few minutes came another request :

"Move along, Jo" ; and again the agent complied, and the chieftain followed. Scarcely had this been done when Red Jacket again said :

"Move along, Jo!" Much annoyed, but willing to humor

him, and not seeing what he was driving at, Ellicott complied, this time reaching the end of the log. But that was not sufficient, and presently the request was repeated for the third time:

"Move along, Jo!"

"Why, man," angrily replied the agent, "I can't move any farther without getting off from the log into the mud."

"Ugh! Just so white man. Want Indian move along—move along. Can't go no farther, but he say—'move along!'"

The sachem had become extremely dissipated, and his Washington medal was frequently pawned in Buffalo for whisky. He always managed to recover it, however, for, though he opposed all white teachings, his vanity led him to cherish this memento of the great white chieftain's favor.

He was disposed to stand much on his dignity, and sometimes to be very captious. He once went, attended by his interpreter, Major Jack Berry, and requested David Reese, the blacksmith for the Indians, to make him a tomahawk, at the same time giving directions as to the kind of weapon he wanted. Reese made it, as near as he could, according to order, but when Red Jacket returned he was much dissatisfied.

Again he gave his orders, and again Reese strove to fulfill them, but the sachem was more dissatisfied than before. So he went to work and with much labor whittled out a wooden pattern of a tomahawk, declaring that if the blacksmith would make one exactly like that he would be satisfied.

"All right," said Reese, who had by this time got out of patience with what he considered the chieftain's whims.

In due time Red Jacket came to get his tomahawk. It was ready, and was precisely like the model. But, after looking at it and then at the model for a moment, he flung it down with an angry "Ugh," and left the shop. It was exactly like the model, but the model had no hole in it for a handle.

CHAPTER XXI.

1808 AND 1809.

First County Officers.—County Buildings.—First Indictment.—Organization of Clarence.—Settlement of Cheektowaga.—Settlement on Cayuga Creek.—Progress in the South Towns.—A Pioneer Funeral.—Springville.—Sardinia.—Further Progress.—Glezen Fillmore.—Buffalo in 1809.—Origin of "Black Rock."—Porter, Barton & Co.—"The Horn Breeze."—Straightening Main Street.—The First Buffalo Church.

The governor appointed Augustus Porter, living near Niagara Falls, as "first judge" of the new Court of Common Pleas, having jurisdiction over Niagara, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties. His four associates were probably Samuel Tupper and Erastus Granger of Buffalo, James Brooks of Cattaraugus county, and Zattu Cushing of Chautauqua county. Asa Ransom was appointed sheriff, Louis Le Couteulx county clerk, and Archibald S. Clarke surrogate. The latter gentleman was also elected the same year as member of assembly from the district composed of the three new counties.

The appointment of Ransom as sheriff compelled him to resign his lieutenant-colonelcy, and Timothy S. Hopkins was appointed in his place. This, with the cashiering of Maybee, left both majors' positions vacant. Capt. Warren, not yet twenty-four, was made first major, and Asa Chapman second major.

In July, 1808, there were but four attorneys in Niagara county, as we learn from a letter of Juba Storrs, a young man bred to the law, who was preparing to go into practice at Buffalo, but soon abandoned the intention. Of these Walden was one, and the others were probably Bates Cooke of Lewiston, John Root and Jonas Harrison. In this letter Storrs prophesied that Buffalo would "eventually be the Utica, and more than the Utica, of this western country."

Immediately after the formation of the new counties, the Holland Company began the erection of a frame court-house in the middle of Onondaga (Washington) street, directly in front

of the site of what this generation has known as the "Old Court House." They gave half an acre of land, lying in a circle around it, to the county. It was finished in 1809.

The first court was held at Landon's, in June, 1808. No record of the proceedings remains, but at the session in November, 1808, an indictment was presented which has survived all the accidents of war and time, and is still on file in Erie county clerk's office, or was previous to the latest removal of the records. It charged five men, described as "labourers of the town of Erie," with stealing a cow in 1806. As the "town of Erie" had ceased to exist when the indictment was found, the description must have referred to the time when the crime was committed.

The document was commendably brief, containing only a hundred and one words. Peter Vandeventer was foreman of the grand jury. The district attorney was William Stewart, of one of the eastern counties, for the territory in charge of a single district attorney then extended more than half way to Albany.

The selection of Buffalo as county-seat of course gave an impetus to immigration, and there were more lots bought in 1808 than in any previous year. Jabez Goodell, Elisha Ensign, A. C. Fox, Gilman Folsom, Henry Ketchum, Zebulon Ketchum and Joshua Lovejoy all came about this time.

Henry Anguish made the first settlement in the vicinity of Tonawanda village, in 1808. Among the new comers to Amherst was John Long, whose son, Christian Long, then thirteen years old, still resides at the west end of Williamsville. He says that, when he came, Williams had two saw-mills running, showing that settlement in that vicinity had increased so that one could not supply the demand for lumber. For grinding, however, all that part of the country still depended on Ransom's mill. There were then but two or three houses about Williamsville, and Samuel McConnell kept a log tavern on the west side of the creek.

The first town-meeting in Clarence, which it will be remembered included the whole north part of Erie county, was held in the spring of 1808 at Elias Ransom's tavern, two miles west of Williamsville, in the present town of Amherst. The town-book has been preserved from that time to this, and is now in

the town clerk's office at Clarence Center, being the oldest record in the county pertaining to any town now in existence. The officers then elected (aside from postmasters) were the following:

Jónas Williams, supervisor; Samuel Hill, Jr., town clerk; Timothy S. Hopkins, Aaron Beard and Levi Felton, assessors; Otis R. Hopkins, collector; Otis R. Hopkins, Francis B. Drake and Henry B. Annabill, constables; Samuel Hill, Jr., Asa Harris and Asa Chapman, commissioners of highways, and James Cronk, poormaster.

There must have been a combination against the Buffalonians, for not one of those above named resided in the new county-seat, except, possibly, constable Annabill. One of the town-ordinances of that year offered a bounty of five dollars for wolves, and another declared that fences should be five feet high, and not more than two inches between the rails. They must have made very small rails in Clarence.

Licenses to sell liquor were granted to Joseph Landon, Zenas Barker, Frederick Miller, Elias Ransom, Samuel McConnell, Asa Harris, Levi Felton, Peter Vandeventer and Asa Chapman.

In this year, (1808) the first permanent settlement was made in what is now Cheektowaga (except possibly on the northern edge) by Apollos Hitchcock, on the land still occupied by his descendants. His son, Alexander, (with whom I conversed a year ago, but who has since met his death by accident,) was then eighteen. He told me that the first grain they raised was carried on horseback across the reservation to Stephens' mill. Ransom's was a little nearer, but was sometimes scant of water.

The Indian trail ran between his father's residence and Cayuga creek, and he said the only trouble they ever received from the red men was when the latter found the white man's fences built across their favorite track; then they were apt to fling them down and stalk on, careless of the endangered crop. The wolves howled their nightly serenade around the sheep-fold, and the bears were, as the old gentleman expressed it, "sufficiently numerous," but deer were comparatively scarce, owing doubtless to the industry of the Indian hunters.

In 1808, Benjamin Clark, Pardon Peckham and Capt. Elias Bissell settled about a mile east of the center of the present

town of Lancaster. Mr. Clark's son, James, then twelve years old, now an active old gentleman of eighty, informs me that there were then just twelve houses on that road between Buffalo and the east line of the county. All the south part of what is now Lancaster was then known as the Cayuga Creek settlement, or simply as "Cayuga Creek." About the same time Calvin Fillmore, afterwards known as Colonel Fillmore, built a saw-mill at what is now called Bowmansville, probably the first in Lancaster.

On the north side of Little Buffalo creek, in Lancaster, is an ancient fortification enclosing an acre of ground, and said by Turner to have been when first discovered as high as a man's breast. There were five gateways, in one of which grew a pine tree, believed by lumbermen to be five hundred years old. There is ample evidence that a long time ago men who built breastworks dwelt in Erie county, but very little evidence that they were radically different from the American Indians.

Among other settlers in Hamburg was Jacob Wright, who, about 1808, located himself and opened a tavern near what is now called Abbott's Corners, which ere long became known as Wright's Corners. Among the illustrations of the enterprise and invention of those days, may be noted the operations of Daniel Smith with his little corn-mill. Thinking that he could do more business in the valley of the Eighteen-Mile, he moved it over there, just above the site of White's Corners. But the building of a dam was beyond his resources, and needless for that size of mill. So he felled a big hemlock across the stream, fastened some more logs to it, and thus created an obstruction which threw enough water around the end of the tree to run his mill.

Obadiah and Reuben Newton settled in the Smith neighborhood in 1808, and later it has generally been called the Newton settlement.

The Quakers had increased so that in 1808 they held "monthly meetings" at their meeting-house at East Hamburg.

In Aurora, settlement had progressed so that in 1808 the inhabitants erected a frame school-house, one of the first in the county. Before it was finished school was kept in a log school-house by Miss Phebe Turner, daughter of Jacob Turner, of

Wales, then a young lady of twenty, now the venerable but still active widow of Judge Paine.

Ethan Allen, who had purchased land in Wales before, bought a large tract near Hall's Hollow in 1808 and moved on to it, making it his home through a long and active life. Besides the Holmeses, mentioned in chapter 23, Charles Blackmar, Benjamin Earl, James Morrison, Samuel Searls and others were purchasers (and mostly settlers) of this year.

Among the new comers in Boston was Asa Cary, a brother of Richard. With him came his son, Truman Cary, then a youth of sixteen, now a hale old man of eighty-four, engaged in the active superintendence of his farm, to whom I am very largely indebted for facts regarding the early history of the south towns.

During that summer Deacon Richard Cary was called on to go ten miles through the forest to lead in the funeral ceremonies over the body of Mrs. Albro, wife of one of the only two settlers at Springville. There was no minister anywhere in that part of the country, and all that could be done to give Christian burial to the departed was to send for sympathising neighbors ten or twelve miles distant, and ask the good deacon to repeat a prayer and read a sermon over her inanimate form.

Mr. Albro went away after the death of his wife, leaving Stone alone. In October, however, Mr. Samuel Cochran came, made a small clearing, put up a log house and went after his family. In November, John Russell, afterwards long and well known as Deacon Russell, brought his family to the same locality.

In the forepart of the winter Cochran returned with his wife and infant child. The only route to Springville from the East, then, was first to Buffalo, then up the beach to the Titus stand, then up the Eighteen-Mile to the farthest settlements in its valley, and then across the ridge. The last part of the way Cochran followed blazed trees, and some of the time had to cut his own road. The three families of Stone, Russell and Cochran were all there were in that vicinity in the winter of 1808–9.

Stone left in the summer of 1809, but Albro returned. James Vaughan and Samuel Cooper bought near there in 1809, and soon became permanent residents, and several other settlers came in.

Jacob Taylor, as chief of the Quaker mission, built a saw-mill at Taylor's Hollow, in Collins, and a grist-mill also about 1809. Perhaps it was this that induced Abraham Tucker and others, with their families, to settle near there in that year. Tucker located in the edge of North Collins, where he built him a cabin, covered it with bark and remained with his family. Stephen Sisson came the same year. Sylvanus Hussey, Isaac Hathaway and Thomas Bills purchased land the same year, and some of them were probably among the companions of Tucker. Settlements were made close to the line between North Collins and Collins; perhaps some in the latter town.

In that year, too, George Richmond, with his sons, George and Frederick, located himself three miles east of Springville, near the southeast corner of the present town of Sardinia, where he soon opened a tavern. That same year young Frederick Richmond taught the first school in the present town of Boston.

The same summer, (1809,) Ezra Nott settled between what is now called Rice's Corners and Colegrove's Corners, becoming the pioneer of all the eastern part of Sardinia. He was a nephew of Jabez Warren, and in company with his cousins, Asa and Sumner Warren, built and burned the first brush-heap in that township—a fact to which, when he had become a general and a prominent citizen, he often referred with the pride of a true pioneer.

Emigration began to roll into the future town of Holland. Ezekiel Colby settled in the valley, and soon after came Jonathan Colby, who still survives, being well-known as "Old Colonel Colby." Nathan Colby located on the north part of Vermont Hill, and about the same time Jacob Farrington settled on the south part, east of the site of Holland village, where there was not as yet a single house—another instance of the curious readiness of many of the first comers to neglect the valleys for the hill-tops.

Going westward we find the Boston people at length rejoicing in a grist-mill, erected this year by Joseph Yaw. According to Gen. Warren's recollection, Mr. Yaw was elected supervisor of Willink in both 1808 and 1809. The Willink records were burned with those of Aurora in 1831, so it is not certain.

The first settlement in the present town of Eden was made

this year. Elisha Welch and Deacon Samuel Tubbs located at what is now known as Eden Valley, but which for a long time bore the less romantic appellation of Tubbs' Hollow.

In this year, too, Aaron Salisbury and William Cash made the first permanent settlement in the present town of Evans, west of Harvey's tavern at the mouth of the Eighteen-Mile. Salisbury was a young, unmarried man. Cash had several sons, since well known in the town. His brother David Cash, Nathaniel Leigh, John Barker, Anderson Tyler, Seth and Martin Sprague and others came not long after, and all settled near the lake shore, where the only road ran.

Besides Samuel Calkins, David Rowley and others, Timothy and Oren Treat settled in Aurora in 1809. Oren Treat, then nearly twenty-two years old, located himself on a farm a little east of Griffin's Mills, where he has ever since resided. It is only this year that he has given up its active superintendence, though almost eighty-nine years of age. He informs me that Humphrey Smith built a grist-mill at what is now called Griffin's Mills in 1809, though it was not finished till the next year. Like most of the pioneer mills, it was of a very primitive construction, the bolt being at first turned by hand.

In Wales there was a considerable increase of the population; Peleg Havens, Welcome Moore and Isaac Reed being among the new comers.

There was a large immigration into the north part of the county this year. Isaac Denio, John Millerman and Benjamin Ballou were among those who settled in the present town of Newstead. Archibald S. Clarke was again elected to the assembly.

Most of those who came into Clarence still located themselves in the southern part of the township, but Matthias Vantine moved into the wilderness four miles north of Harris Hill. His son, David Vantine, then a youth of fifteen, now a sturdy old man of eighty-two, says there was not a family north of the limestone ledge when his father settled there. A little further north was what was then called the Tonawanda swamp.

A young man of twenty-one, since well known as Colonel Beaman, located three miles north of Clarence Hollow that same summer. For sixty-seven years he has remained on the same

farm. When I conversed with him in 1875, he said that at the time he came there was not a house on the north, through to the vicinity of Lockport.

Another of the new comers into Clarence was destined to wield a strong influence throughout not only Erie county but Western New York. I refer to the Rev. Glezen Fillmore. He was then a bright, pleasant, yet earnest youth of nineteen, with the well-known, strong, Fillmore features, and stalwart Fillmore frame.

Having been licensed in March, 1809, as a Methodist exhorter, the youthful champion of the cross immediately set forth from his home in Oneida county, on foot, with knapsack on his back, traveling two hundred miles through the snow and mud of early spring, to begin his labors in the wilderness of the Holland Purchase.

Arriving in the neighborhood where his uncle Calvin resided, he at once went to work. His first preaching was at the house of David Hamlin. A man named Maltby and his wife were the only listeners except Hamlin's family, but the young exhorter bravely went through with the entire services, including class-meeting. It is to be presumed that he felt rewarded when, in after years, he learned that four of Maltby's sons had become Methodist ministers.

Young Fillmore procured land, and throughout his life made his home, at Clarence Hollow, though spending many years at a distance, on whatever service might be allotted to him. In the fall of 1809 he returned to Oneida county, married Miss Lavina Atwell, and brought her back to his frontier home.

Mrs. Fillmore, in later years widely known as "Aunt Vina," shared her husband's toils, and when I saw her a year since, at the age of eighty-eight, her form was still unbent and her eye undimmed, and she would easily have passed for seventy. She stated that there was already a Methodist society at Clarence Hollow when she came, probably organized the summer before.

Samuel Hill, Jr., was elected supervisor of Clarence for the year 1809. As near as I can learn it was in that year, though possibly a little later, that Otis R. Ingalls opened the first store in the present town of Clarence, at Ransomville, now Clarence Hollow.

Meanwhile the little village at the mouth of Buffalo creek kept creeping along toward its destined greatness. Fortunately we have the means of ascertaining its exact position in 1809.

In October, Erastus Granger, who had lately been appointed collector of customs for the new district of Buffalo Creek, wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury, protesting against the proposed removal of the custom-house to Black Rock. Comparing the grandeur of Buffalo with the insignificance of Black Rock, he declared that the former had a population of no less than forty-three families, besides unmarried men engaged in business, and that the court-house and jail were "nearly completed."

The same letter contributes largely to settle a question which has been raised as to the origin of the name "Black Rock." It is generally attributed to a large, flat, dark-colored rock lying at the base of the bluff, where the boats used to land. Some have supposed, however, that it was derived from Bird Island, which was also a dark rock situated a short distance out in the river, and much farther up. A remark made by President Dwight of Yale College, in his journal of travels in this vicinity, in 1804, shows that he then supposed Bird Island to be the original "Black Rock."

But Judge Granger had resided at Buffalo ever since 1803, and he had evidently no such idea. In the letter just mentioned, he says that Porter, Barton & Co. have built a store "on the Rock," and adds that besides Frederick Miller's temporary house under the bank, where a ferry-house and tavern are kept, one white family and two black families comprise the population. He goes on to say that lake vessels lie at the head of the rapids "a little below a reef called Bird Island, one mile from Black Rock and one and three fourths miles from Buffalo." It is quite plain that Judge G. looked on the original Rock as being at the foot of the rapids, and the ideas of a permanent resident since 1803 are certainly entitled to far more weight than those of a mere traveler. Some other circumstances have been adduced in favor of Bird Island as the original Black Rock, but they are, I think, decidedly overbalanced by the testimony in favor of the "rock" on shore.

For the time being the port of entry remained at Buffalo.

In his letter, Mr. Granger stated that a motion looking toward

removal had been made in Congress by Peter B. Porter. This gentleman had been elected to Congress the year before, from the westernmost district of New York, and was as yet a resident of Canandaigua. His elder brother, Augustus Porter, the new first-judge of Niagara county, Benjamin Barton, Jr., and himself, had formed a partnership under the name of Porter, Barton & Co., and were the principal forwarders of eastern goods to the West. Their route was by way of Oneida lake, Oswego and Ontario, to Lewiston; thence by land-carriage around the Falls and by vessel up Lake Erie. Of the few sail-vessels then running on Lake Erie, owned on the American side, probably more than half were owned by Porter, Barton & Co.

Their ships had the same difficulty in ascending the rapids that had beset the Griffin a hundred and thirty years before. To overcome it they provided a number of yoke of oxen to drag vessels up the rapids. The sailors dubbed these auxiliaries the "Horn Breeze."

Porter, Barton & Co., joined with others, had also bought a tract of eight hundred acres, extending from Scajaquada creek south to near Breckenridge street. South of that was a lot of a hundred acres given by the State for a ferry, and still farther on was South Black Rock, where the State authorities intended to lay out a village extending to the "mile line" on the west side of Buffalo.

As to Buffalo creek, all agree that it was worthless for a harbor, on account of the bar at the mouth. All sail vessels stopped at Black Rock, and only a few open boats came into the creek.

It was in 1809 that the authorities, who must have been the highway commissioners of Clarence, straightened the main avenue of Buffalo, cutting off Ellicott's "bay window" in front of outer lot 104. The great power that he exercised throughout the Holland Purchase makes it seem strange that they should have done so, but the facts are not disputed. Professor Evans says that he had begun to gather material for a grand mansion in the semi-circle, and that when the street was straightened he gave up the idea, and afterwards lost much of his interest in Buffalo. The stones he had gathered were used to help build the jail. Lot 104 was never subdivided or sold until after his

death. About the time of the straightening, too, the names of "Willink avenue" and "Van Staphorst avenue" seem to have been thrown aside by general consent, and the whole was called Main street. The original names, however, of the other streets and avenues were retained for many years afterwards.

It was not till the last of 1809 that a church was formed in Buffalo. Mrs. Fox agrees with Mrs. Mather, mentioned by Turner, that the first meetings were held in the court-house. It was formed by a union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, under the direction of Rev. Thaddeus Osgood. Amos Callender, who came shortly after, became a leading member of the church. One account makes the organization still later, but I think the above is correct. There was still no minister except an occasional missionary.

Among the new comers was another of the "big men" who by strength of brain and will, and almost of arm, fairly lifted Buffalo over the shoals of adverse fortune. Tall, broad-shouldered, fair-faced and stout-hearted, young Dr. Ebenezer Johnson entered on the practice of his profession with unbounded zeal and energy in the fall of 1809, and for nearly thirty years scarcely any man exercised a stronger influence in the village and city of his adoption. Another arrival was that of Oliver Forward, a brother-in-law of Judge Granger, who became deputy collector of customs and assistant postmaster, and who long exercised a powerful influence in Buffalo.

CHAPTER XXII.

JUST BEFORE THE WAR.

Town of "Buffaloe."—New Militia Regiments.—Buffalo Business.—Peter B. Porter—Tonawanda.—Store at Williamsville.—Clarence.—Settlement of Allen.—James Wood.—A Wolfish Salute.—An Aged Couple.—Colden.—Richard Buffum.—Springville.—Tucker's Table.—A Crowded Cabin.—Turner Aldrich.—The "Hill Difficulty."—Sardinia.—A Resolute Woman.—Boston and Eden.—Unlucky Sheep.—Evans.—Bears and Hedge-hogs.—A Store too soon.—Crossing the Reservation.—A Mill-race as a Fish Trap.—Buffalo Firms.—H. B. Potter.—The Buffalo Gazette.—Feminine Names.—Old-Time Books.—An Erudite Captain.—"Buffalo-e."—The Unborn Reporter.—Inflation of the Marriage List.—Divers Advertisements.—"A Delinquent and a Villain."—Morals and Lotteries.—The Two Chapins.—A Medical Melee.—A Federal Committee.—Division of Willink.—Hamburg, Eden and Concord.—Approach of War.—Militia Officers.—An Indian Council.—A Vessel Captured.—The War Begun.

This chapter relates principally to the years 1810 and 1811, but will be extended to the beginning of the war, in June, 1812.

In the first-named year the United States census was taken, and the population of Niagara county was found to be 6,132. Of these just about two thirds were in the present county of Erie.

In that year, too, the name "Buffalo," or "Buffaloe," was first legally applied to a definite tract of territory. On the 10th day of February, a law was passed erecting the town of "Buffaloe," comprising all that part of Clarence west of the West Transit. In other words, it comprised the present city of Buffalo, the towns of Grand Island, Tonawanda, Amherst and Cheektowaga, and the north part of West Seneca; being about eighteen miles long north and south, and from eight to sixteen miles wide east and west. Another event considered of much importance in those days was the formation of new militia regiments. The men subject to military duty in Buffalo and Clarence were constituted a regiment, under Lieut. Col. Asa Chapman, then living near Buffalo. Samuel Hill, Jr., of Newstead, was one of his majors. The men of Willink formed another regiment, and

young Major Warren was promoted to lieutenant-colonel commanding. His majors were William C. Dudley, of Evans, and Benjamin Whaley, who was or had been a resident of Boston. There was also a regiment in Cambria, and one in Chautauqua county, and the whole was under the command of Brigadier-General Timothy S. Hopkins.

The mercantile business of Buffalo began to increase. Juba Storrs, having abandoned the law, formed a partnership with Benjamin Caryl and Samuel Pratt, Jr., under the firm name of Juba Storrs & Co., which took high rank in the little commercial world of Buffalo. In 1810, the junior member, Mr. Pratt, was appointed sheriff, and Mr. Storrs himself, county clerk. Eli Hart and Isaac Davis also erected and opened stores about that time.

Another new settler, afterwards quite noted, was Ralph Pomeroy, who began the erection of a hotel on the northeast corner of Main and Seneca streets. Asa Coltrin, a physician, and John Mullett, a tailor, came about the same time.

Dr. Daniel Chapin, who was there then, and perhaps came earlier, was a physician of some note, and was the principal rival of his namesake, Dr. Cyrenius Chapin. The two were usually at bitter feud.

The most influential new comer in the county, however, was Peter B. Porter, who, after being reelected to Congress in the spring of 1810, removed from Canandaigua to Black Rock. He was then thirty-seven years old, unmarried, a handsome, portly gentleman of the old school, of smooth address, fluent speech, and dignified demeanor.

At Canandaigua he had practiced at the bar, but after his removal he devoted himself to his commercial fortunes as a member of the firm of Porter, Barton & Co., save when attending to his political duties. Mr. Porter was the first citizen of Erie county who exercised a wide political influence.

A few lots were sold at Black Rock in 1810, and one or two small stores put up, but there were still very few residents.

The same year the Holland Company (that is, the several individuals commonly so-called) sold their preemption right in all the Indian reservations on the Purchase to David A. Ogden. He was acting in behalf of other parties, joined with himself, in

the speculation, and the owners were generally called the Ogden Company. The whole amount of territory was about 196,000 acres, and the purchase price $98,000. That is to say, Ogden and his friends gave fifty cents an acre for the sole right of buying out the Indians whenever they should wish to sell.

There was still very little improvement in the north part of Tonawanda. Robert Simpson settled about a mile from Tonawanda village. His son, John Simpson, then a boy, says that Garret Van Slyke was then keeping tavern on the north side of the creek, but on this side there was nothing but forest. A guard-house was built on this side on the approach of war. Henry Anguish lived a mile up the river. The only road to Buffalo was along the beach. Another one had been underbrushed out but was not used.

It was about 1810 that Isaac F. Bowman opened a little store at Williamsville, the first in the present town of Amherst, and probably the third in the county, out of Buffalo. The same year Benjamin Bowman bought the saw-mill on Eleven-Mile creek, four miles above Williamsville, (in the northwest corner of Lancaster,) and soon after built another, and the place has ever since retained the name of Bowman's Mills, or Bowmansville.

The lowlands of township 13, range 7, being the north part of Amherst, had not even had a purchaser until 1810, when Adam Vollmer bought two lots at $3.00 per acre.

The same was the case in township 13, range 6, forming the north part of Clarence, where John Stranahan purchased at $2.75.

At the town-meeting this year Samuel Hill, Jr., was reelected supervisor of Clarence, which by the erection of "Buffaloe" had been reduced to a territory only eighteen miles long, and twelve miles wide. It was also voted "that every pathmaster's yard should be a lawful pound," and that a bounty of $5.00 each should again be offered for wolves and panthers.

Elder John Le Suer and Elder Salmon Bell were both ministers resident in the old town of Clarence before the war, the former being quite noted throughout the northern part of the county.

Moses Fenno, who moved into the present town of Alden in

the spring of 1810, is usually considered there as the first settler of that town, though Zophar Beach, Samuel Huntington and James C. Rowan had previously purchased land on its western edge, and it is quite likely some of them had settled there.

It is certain, however, that Fenno was the beginner of improvement in the vicinity of Alden village, and raised the first crops there, in the year mentioned. The same year came Joseph Freeman, afterwards known as Judge Freeman, William Snow and Arunah Hibbard.

It was in 1801 that the present town of Wales attained to the dignity of a framed house. It was built by Jacob Turner, and his daughter, Mrs. Judge Paine, informs me that it is still standing upon the farm of Isaac W. Gail, Esq.

One of the new settlers in Wales in 1810 was James Wood, then a youth of twenty, who, after a long and most active career, passed away a few months since. He informed me last year that when, in 1810, he began making a clearing on the flats just below the village of "Wood's Hollow," which derived its name from him, there was not a house south of him in the township. There was no road, but on the west side of the creek was a well-beaten Indian trail.

In fact the wolves were about his only neighbors, and much closer than he liked. Having brought a heifer and five or six sheep from Aurora, the young pioneer secured them in a pen, close to his cabin. Hearing the wolves howl at night, he went out, when he found them closing in all around him, and could hear their jaws go "snap, snap," in the darkness of the forest. Calling his dog to his aid, he managed to beat a retreat to his cabin, but he always vividly remembered the snapping of the wolves' jaws around him. Fortunately they were unable to get into the sheep-pen.

Emigration was brisk all through the county, and log houses were continually rising by the wayside, but incidents of special interest were less common in the older settlements than among the first emigrants. Among the new comers in Aurora this year were Jonathan Bowen, Asa Palmer and Rowland Letson. The first church was organized in town by the Baptists. It had sixteen members.

In East Hamburg, besides Stephen Kester, Elisha Clark and

others, William Austin, then a young man of twenty-four, settled with his wife in the Smith (or Newton) neighborhood, and both are still living in the town. This is the only instance that I remember of a man and woman married before the war of 1812 both of whom still survive, though there may be others.

Mr. Austin remembers that there was a town-meeting at John Green's tavern, (afterwards kept by George B. Green,) when he first came, on the subject of dividing the town of Willink, and that some of the voters said they came thirty miles to attend it.

By this time (1811) the locality of East Hamburg village began to be known as "Potter's Corners," from two or three prominent men of that name who had settled there.

By this time, too, that energetic mill-builder under difficulties, Daniel Smith, had, in company with his brother Richard, got him up a regular grist-mill, near where Long's mill now stands, at Hamburg village, which then began to be known by the name of Smith's Mills. Among the settlers in the vicinity was Moses Dart, a still surviving citizen.

About this time, perhaps earlier, the Messrs. Ingersoll located on the lake shore, in Hamburg, just below the mouth of the Eighteen-Mile. Shortly after their arrival they discovered on the summit of the high bank seven or eight hundred pounds of wrought iron, apparently taken off from a vessel. It was much eaten with rust, and there were trees growing from it ten to twelve inches in diameter.

A few years before, as related by David Eddy, a fine anchor had been found imbedded in sand on the Hamburg lake shore. Ten or twelve years later two cannon were discovered on the beach near where the iron was found. The late James W. Peters, of East Evans, in a communication to the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, reproduced in Turner's "Holland Purchase," stated that he saw them immediately after their discovery, and cleaned away enough of the rust to lay bare a number of letters on the breech of one of them. He stated that the word or words thus exposed were declared to be French; he did not say by whom, nor what they were.

From these data, Turner and others have inferred that the Griffin was wrecked at the mouth of Eighteen-Mile creek; that such of the crew as escaped intrenched themselves there to resist

the Indians, but were finally overpowered and slain. It is much more probable, however, that the Griffin sank amid the storms of the upper lakes, especially as La Salle and his three companions came back on foot not far from Lake Erie, doubtless making constant inquiries of the Indians as to any wrecked vessel.

Mr. O. H. Marshall is very decidedly of the opinion that the evidences of shipwreck found on the lake shore were due to the loss of the Beaver, which occurred near that locality about 1765, and furnished an essay supporting this view to the Buffalo Historical Society, which has unfortunately been lost. The size of the trees growing over the irons confirms Mr. Marshall's theory, which is in all probability correct. It is not seriously invalidated by the French words (if they were French,) on the cannon, as many English mottoes (such as "*Dieu et mon droit*," "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," etc.,) are of French origin.

Dr. John March and Silas Este settled near Eden Valley in 1810, and Morris March, son of the former, informs me that there were just four families in town when they came. When the two families came, in March, they had to draw their wagons by hand on the ice across the Eighteen-Mile at Water Valley, where a saw-mill was about to be erected.

Up to this time no settlement had been made in the present town of Colden, but in 1810 Richard Buffum became its pioneer. He was a Rhode Islander of some property, and being desirous of emigrating westward he was requested by a number of his neighbors to go into an entirely new district and purchase a place where he could build mills, when they would settle around him.

Accordingly he came to the Holland Purchase, and located on the site of Colden village. His son, Thomas Buffum, then seven years old, informs me that his father cut his own road six or eight miles, and then built him a log house forty feet long! This is the largest log dwelling of which I have heard in all my researches, and is entitled to special mention. The same fall he put up a saw-mill. Various causes prevented the coming of the neighbors he had calculated on, and for a good while Mr. Buffum was very much isolated. The first year no one came except men whom he had hired. As, however, he had eleven children, he was probably not very lonesome.

There was considerable emigration into Concord in 1810. One of the first comers was William Smith, whose son, Calvin C., then seven years old, names (besides Albro, Cochran and Russell) Jedediah Cleveland, Elijah Dunham, Mr. Person and Jacob Drake as residents when he came. Rufus Eaton, long an influential citizen, came that summer, and Jonathan Townsend purchased, and probably settled, in the locality which has since been known as Townsend Hill. Josiah Fay, Benjamin C. Foster, Seneca Baker, Philip Van Horn, Luther Curtis and others came about the same time into various parts of Concord.

There were early friends of education at Springville. Mr. Smith says that Anna Richmond taught the first school in the summer of 1810, with only fourteen scholars, just north of the site of the village, in a log barn, in which a floor had been put made of basswood puncheons.

In February, 1810, Samuel Tucker, brother of Abram, the pioneer in North Collins of the previous year, moved into that town, following the Indian trail by way of Water Valley and Eden Center. It was the first team that passed over that trail. His provisions consisted principally of a barrel of flour and a barrel of pork; these he rolled down some of the steepest hills, as he could manage them better by hand than on the sled.

He settled a mile and a half south of North Collins village (Kerr's Corners). There he built a log house; that was a matter of course, but a piece of his furniture was entirely unique. Having no table he left a stump, nicely squared off, standing in the middle of his house, and this was the family table. His first wheat for seed was only procured by trading off a log-chain, and it was two years before the light shone through a glass window on his peculiar table.

Enos Southwick came with his family the same year, and Abram Tucker admitted them to the shelter of his hospitable mansion. In that little bark-covered cabin, was born in August, 1810, George Tucker, the first white child in the towns of Collins and North Collins, and in September following, George Southwick, the second native of the same district. If there had been a stump in that house it would have been rather crowded. For these last facts I am indebted to Mr. George Southwick, of Gowanda, who ought to know as to their correctness.

Among other settlers before the war, in North Collins, were Henry Tucker, Benjamin Leggett, Levi Woodward, Stephen White, Stephen Twining, Gideon Lapham, Noah Tripp, Abraham Gifford, Orrin Brayman, Jonathan Southwick, Hugh McMillan, and Lilly Stafford. For most of these names I am indebted to Humphrey Smith, Esq., of North Collins, though not arriving himself till just after the war, learned who were there before, and whose extraordinary memory has been of much assistance to me.

In the spring or summer of 1810, Turner Aldrich and his family came up the Cattaraugus creek from the lake beach, and let their wagons down the "breakers" into the Gowanda flats by means of ropes hitched to the hind axle and payed out from around trees. They located on the site of Gowanda, and were the first family in Collins, except those near Taylor's Hollow.

In the spring of that same year, however, Stephen Wilber, Stephen Peters and Joshua Palmerton came in, built a cabin and went to keeping bachelor's hall about a mile west of the site of Collins Center, where they had all bought lands. In the fall Wilber went back to Cayuga county.

In March, 1811, he returned with his family, accompanied by quite a colony, consisting of Allen King and wife, Luke Crandall and wife, Arnold King, John King, and Henry Palmerton.

The Crandalls had come from Vermont, and when they started for the Holland Purchase Mrs. C.'s father, in accordance with olden custom, presented her with a bottle of rum, directing her not to uncork it until they reached "The Hill Difficulty;" referring to Pilgrim's Progress. They came into Collins from the east and at what is now known as Woodward's Hollow they had to chain the sleds to trees to get down safely. At the foot of the ascent on the other side Mrs. Crandall said:

"Here is 'The Hill Difficulty,' let us drink," and opened her bottle, presenting it first to Mrs. Wilber. Any one who has been at that place will appreciate her remark.

After their arrival Mr. Wilber improvised a vehicle by falling a small tree, using the body for a tongue and the branches for runners. This was the only carriage that could be navigated among the numerous fallen trees. Men used to fasten a bag of corn to the cross-piece, and spend three days going to Yaw's

mill in Boston. When there was not time for this they would use one of the stump-mortars, or "plumping-mills," before described.

During the period before the war, besides those mentioned, there were purchases and probably settlements made by Seth Blossom, George Morris, Ethan Howard, Abraham Lapham, Ira Lapham, and Silas Howard. Smith Bartlett came but a little later.

Samuel Burgess, Harry Sears and others bought near Springville in 1811, while Benjamin Fay located at Townsend Hill. In fact immigrants into Concord became so numerous that Rufus Eaton thought it necessary to build a saw-mill in 1811 or 1812.

New settlers were also numerous in Sardinia in 1811 and the beginning of 1812. Among them were Horace Rider, Henry Godfrey, Randall Walker, Benjamin Wilson, Daniel Hall, Giles Briggs, John Cook, Henry Bowen, Smithfield Ballard and Francis Easton.

Elihu Rice also moved there at that period, and according to his son's recollection brought a small stock of goods, which he sold in his log dwelling-house. This was quite a common way of improvising a store in those days.

Ezra Nott, the first pioneer of the town, married just before the war, and brought in his bride, who survives in a pleasant old age at Sardinia village. She says they went to housekeeping in a cabin "with no doors and very little floor."

Sumner Warren, a younger brother of William, also located in town before the war, and built a saw-mill on Mill brook, near the mouth. Mrs. Nott relates how his mother came to visit him, on horseback, from Aurora. There was no road south of the Humphrey settlement in Holland. Threading her way among the gulfs south of Holland village, she emerged on the level land of Sardinia. But, having occupied more time than she intended, night came upon her and she was unable to determine her course.

Finding it useless to attempt farther progress, she tied her horse to a sapling, took off the saddle, and coolly laid down and waited till morning. The wolves occasionally howled in the distance, but were either not numerous enough or not hungry to venture near. How much she slept I cannot say.

Among the new settlers in Holland at this time was Joseph Cooper, who located on the farm where his son Samuel, then a boy, still resides. At that time the latter says there was no road farther south than his father's place.

A Baptist church was organized in Boston in 1811. Mr. Truman Cary states that Rev. Cyrus Andrews, a Baptist minister, came there the same year and preached ten years. Doubtless, however, he officiated in other places also, for I do not think there was a church in the county able to support a settled minister. Clark Carr, also a Baptist minister, settled near the Concord line before the war, and preached much of the time throughout his life. John Twining, Lemuel Parmely, and Dorastus and Edward Hatch were among the new comers to Boston. The last named person, then twenty-two years old, still survives, being the earliest settler in Boston who was twenty-one years old when he came. Richard Sweet and one or two others joined Buffum's little colony in Colden.

There was also considerable emigration to Eden that year. Among the new settlers were Levi Bunting, Samuel Webster, Joseph Thorne, James Paxon, John Welch, Josiah Gail and James Pound.

Another was John Hill, who located at Eden Center, where he was the first settler and where three of his sons, still reside. They inform me that their father brought a flock of a dozen or two sheep all the way from Otsego county. On arriving at Tubbs' Hollow, the night before reaching their destination, the wolves got among the sheep and killed every one with a single exception; the one that wore the bell.

It did not follow from the extent of the slaughter that there were many animals engaged in it. A single wolf has been known to kill six or eight sheep out of a flock in the same raid; merely sucking the blood of each and then leaving it to chase the others.

Numerous settlers, too, sought the handsome level lands of Evans. James Ayer located on the lake shore in 1811, where his son now resides. The latter informs me that when they came Gideon Dudley was at Evans Center, David Corbin and Timothy Dustin near there, and a Mr. Pike near the stream now called Pike creek. A Mr. Palmer was then keeping tavern

at the mouth of the Eighteen-Mile. Hezekiah Dibble also came before the war, becoming an influential citizen.

Among the new comers in Hamburg were Ira Fisk, Boroman Salisbury, Henry Clark, Shubael Sherman and Ebenezer Ingersoll, while in East Hamburg there were Pardon Pierce, James Paxson, Joseph Hawkins and others. Dr. William Warriner was a physician in Hamburg at this time, and Obadiah Baker had a grist-mill on Smoke's creek, near Potter's Corners. Early in the spring of 1812 Daniel Sumner made the first settlement on Chestnut Ridge, locating just south of the farm now occupied by his step-son, S. V. R. Graves, Esq., then a small boy.

Here, as elsewhere, the bears and wolves were abundant, and one or two anecdotes related by Mr. G. show the extreme affection of the former for pork.

On one occasion a bear came close to the house, seized a shote weighing a hundred pounds, and made off with it. Coming to a seven-rail fence, the apparently clumsy animal scrambled over it, bearing the porker in her mouth something as a cat does a kitten, and leaving no trace behind save the marks of her claws on the top rail.

Another bear attacked an old sow in a shanty close to the residence of Amos Colvin, in the Newton neighborhood. The old man ran out and found the two animals under a work-bench, and no amount of beating could make the bear let go her hold. Having some powder, but no ball nor shot, Colvin broke off a piece of the bail of a kettle, loaded his gun with it, and actually killed the stubborn invader with this primitive ammunition.

Another animal, which has disappeared since then, was the hedgehog. This black and "fretful" little animal was then common, especially among the chestnuts of that region, and many an unsophisticated young dog has returned home sore and bleeding from the wounds inflicted by his apparently insignificant antagonist. Although the casting of their quills is a fable, yet they could really use them with great efficiency as simple defensive weapons, and experienced canines usually declined the unequal contest.

By the spring of 1811 the township now called Aurora had increased in population (including among the new comers of that year the Staffords, who settled "Staffordshire," Moses Thomp-

son, Russell Darling, Amos Underhill and others,) so that it was thought it might support a store. Accordingly John Adams and Daniel Hascall purchased a little stock of goods in Buffalo, put up a counter in the log house belonging to one of them, near what is now Blakeley's Corners, and indulged in the dignity of merchandising for about six months, and then suspended. They were evidently ahead of their age.

Dr. John Watson was the first medical practitioner in Aurora. His younger brother, Ira G., also located there just before the war. They were the only physicians in the whole southeast part of the county.

Though there were no "settled" ministers, yet Elder Samuel Gail, then living in Aurora, and licensed by the Methodist Church, frequently preached in houses or barns, or under the canopy of heaven, according to circumstances. The occasional preaching then begun by the youthful minister was continued for nearly sixty years, until "Elder Gail" was one of the best-known men in the south part of Erie county.

Wales began to increase more rapidly than before; Varnum, Kenyon, Eli Weed, Jr., Nathan Mann and others being among the new comers of 1811, and in the succeeding winter young James Wood taught the first school in town.

Isaac Hall also came that year, locating at what has since been known as "Hall's Hollow," or "Wales Center," where he soon built a saw-mill and grist-mill, the first in Wales, and also opened a tavern. His son, P. M. Hall, mentions Alvin Burt, Benjamin Earl and others, as in town when he came.

Up to this time inhabitants of the "Cayuga Creek" settlement had been obliged to patronize the grist-mill at Clarence Hollow, or the one at Aurora. Water sometimes failed at the former, and the road to the latter was difficult to travel or even to discover.

Mr. Clark, to whom I am indebted for so many reminiscences of those times, says that his father and two others once started on horseback for Stephens' Mill, with seven bushels of grain in all, designing to follow the "Ransom road," since called the "Girdled road," which crossed the reservation, striking the Big Tree road about a quarter of a mile west of the site of Aurora Academy. They were unable to keep the track, however, and

after many wanderings struck the road from Aurora to Buffalo, which they mistakenly followed toward the latter place till they reached the Indian village. The "Ransom road" was evidently a very blind guide.

Such troubles came to an end in 1811, when Ahaz Allen built a grist-mill at what is now Lancaster village. Its dam was the first on Cayuga creek, and after the race was shut, the first night, nine hundred and fifty-five fish—suckers, mullet, muscalonge, etc.—were caught in it.

The supervisor of Clarence for 1811 was Samuel Hill, Jr., and in 1812 James Cronk, both residing in the present territory of Newstead.

Tonawanda could not boast of a tavern until 1811, when one was opened by Henry Anguish.

Buffalo gained several important accessions to its business and social circles, during the period under consideration.

Grosvenor & Heacock established themselves as merchants on Main street. The senior member of the firm was Abel M. Grosvenor, a portly and pleasant middle-aged gentleman, who died during the war. The junior partner, Reuben B. Heacock, long one of the best-known citizens of Buffalo, was then a tall, slender young man of twenty-two, with keen features and Roman nose, manifesting his intense energy in every movement as he strode through the streets of the nascent emporium.

Messrs. Stocking & Bull, in 1811, built the first hat-factory in Buffalo, on Onondaga (Washington) street, near the corner of Swan. Mr. Stocking devoted himself with especial earnestness to the support of public worship and Sunday-schools, seconding the efforts of Deacon Callender and Gen. Elijah Holt, the latter of whom came about the same time.

Charles Townsend and George Coit, two young men of Connecticut, also came to Buffalo at this time, and established the long-celebrated firm of Townsend & Coit. They were reputed wealthy when they came, (something very unusual for Buffalonians of that era,) and it is asserted that they brought with them, via Oswego and Lewiston, twenty tons of goods.

Heman B. Potter was a young lawyer who began, in 1811, a legal career which continued in Buffalo for nearly half a century. A man of medium size, regular features and calm demeanor,

Mr. Potter was less self-assertive than the majority of successful pioneers, yet he remained so long in active life that he was, more than any other one man, the connecting link between the forest-shaded hamlet and the swarming metropolis.

In 1811 William Hodge built a large brick hotel where is now the corner of Main and Utica streets. It was nearly if not quite the first of that material in the county, and was soon widely known as the "brick tavern on the hill." Mr. H. had also become the proprietor of the first nursery in the county, and had first started the manufacture of fanning-mills. It is a good illustration of pioneer energy that, in order to learn how to make the screens, Mr. Hodge went on foot to a place near Utica, paid a man to teach him the desired secret, and then returned on foot to Buffalo to put it in use.

In the forepart of this year the President, being authorized by Congress, located the port of entry for the district of Buffalo Creek at Black Rock, from the first of April to the first of December in each year, and at "Buffaloe" the rest of the time. It is difficult to see why the office should have been moved twice a year merely to make "Buffaloe" a port of entry during the four months when there were no entries.

The year 1811 was also marked by the establishment of Mr. Jabez B. Hyde as the first school-teacher among the Senecas. He was sent by the New York Missionary Society. A minister of the gospel was sent at the same time, but was rejected by the chiefs, while the teacher was invited to remain.

But the most important event in the eye of the historian was the establishment of the first newspaper in Erie county, the Buffalo Gazette; the initial number of which was issued on the third day of October, 1811, by Messrs Smith H. and Hezekiah A. Salisbury. The former was the editor.

For the time previous to its appearance the student of local history must depend on the memory of a few aged persons, eked out by a very small number of scattering records. But, fortunately, a tolerably complete file of the Gazette has been preserved through all the vicissitudes of sixty-five years, and is now in the possession of the Young Men's Association of Buffalo. By carefully studying its columns, especially the advertisements, one can form a very fair idea of the progress of the

county. The first number has been stolen from the files; the second, dated October 10th, 1811, remains, the earliest specimen of Erie county journalism.

A rough-looking little sheet was this pioneer newspaper of Erie county, printed on coarse, brownish paper, each of the four pages being about twelve inches by twenty. Its price was $2.50 per year if left weekly at doors; $2.00 if taken at the office or sent by mail.

The price seems large for a sheet of those dimensions, but the advertising rates were certainly low enough. A "square" was inserted three weeks for $1.00, and twenty-five cents was charged for each subsequent insertion.

There must have been a large mail business done in this vicinity, or a very slow delivery; as the first number of the Gazette contained an advertisement of a hundred and fifty-seven letters remaining in the post-office at Buffalo Creek. Five of them were directed to women, whose names I give as specimens of the feminine nomenclature of that day: Susan Davenport, Sarah Goosbeck, Susannah McConnel, Nancy Tuck, Lucinda Olmsted. Not one ending in "ie!"

With their printing office the Salisburys carried on the first Buffalo book-store, and kept a catalogue of their books constantly displayed in their paper. It may give an idea of the literary taste of that era to observe that one of those lists contains the names of seventeen books on law, fourteen on medicine, fifty-four on religious subjects, fifty-four on history, poetry and philosophy, and only eleven novels!

One of the first numbers chronicles the arrival of the schooner Salina, Daniel Robbins master, with a cargo of "Furr" estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand dollars—an estimate which I fear did not hold out. "Furr" was the invariable spelling of the covering of the beaver and otter, while a wielder of the needle was sometimes denominated a "tailor," and sometimes a "taylor."

Militia affairs evidently received considerable attention, as the only advertisement of blanks was one of "Sergeants' Warrants, Captains' Orders to Sergeants, Notices to Warn Men to Parade," &c., &c. Captains were numerous, and were not always blessed with high scholastic acquirements, as is shown by the following

communication from one gallant chieftain to another, which somehow found its way into the Gazette, minus the names:

Willink, November the 10, 1811.

"Capt ——. Sir this day Mr. —— inform mee that he was not able to do militerry duty, and wish you not to flect a fine on him ef I had a non his sttuation i shod not returned him this is from yr. frend. —— ——, Capt.

"Willink," gives but a slight idea of the locality, as the whole south part of the county was still called by that name.

Municipal towns were so large that survey townships were frequently used for description. Thus Daniel Wood advertised a watch left at his house "in the 6th Town, 8th Range;" that is in the present town of Collins.

Buffalo, which had originally been spelled by every one with a final "e," had latterly, in accordance with the growing distaste for superfluous letters, been frequently used without it, but the older form was still common. Editor Salisbury set himself to complete the reformation, always omitting the "e" himself, and ridiculing its use by others. He declared that it made a word of four syllables, "Buf-fa-lo-e." Said he:

"Buf, there's your Buf; fa, there's your Buffa; lo, there's your Buffalo; e, there's your Buffalo-e."

In the Gazette of the 29th of December, 1811, he published a report of a supposed lawsuit in the "Court of People's Bench of Buffalo-e," in which "Ety Mol O Gist" was plaintiff, and "General Opinion" was defendant. The following is an extract from the proceedings:

"This was an action brought before the court for the purloining the fifth letter of the alphabet, and clapping it on the end of the name Buffalo. . . . The plaintiff now proceeded, after some pertinent remarks to the court, in which he pointed out the enormity of the offense of General Opinion, to call his witnesses. Several dictionaries were brought forth and examined, who testified, from Dr. Johnson down to Noah Webster, that there was no such character as "e" in the town of Buffalo.

"General Use, who was subpœnaed by both parties, was qualified. He said he did not hesitate to state to the court that he had been in the constant practice of dating his notes, receipts, and memoranda with "Buffaloe," but that since the establishment of a public paper he should accommodate it to his conscience to cut it short and dock off the final 'e.'" * * *

The editor's efforts accelerated the popular tendency, and the "e" was soon generally abandoned, though for many years a few conservative gentlemen continued to date their letters at "Buffaloe."

In one of the first numbers of the Gazette was an advertisement stating that the new sloop "Friends' Goodwill, of Black Rock," would carry passengers to Detroit for twelve dollars each, and goods for a dollar and a half a barrel.

It should be stated that the only way in which any idea of the condition of the village or county can be gained from the Gazette is by examining the advertisements; for it is very plain that the local reporter was then an unknown functionary, and the voice of the interviewer was never heard in the land.

Number after number of the Gazette appeared without a single local item. Except during the war, such items were excessively rare through all the first years of Buffalo journalism, and even when events of decided importance forced recognition they were dismissed with the briefest possible notice.

Editorials, also, were extremely rare, though not so much so as locals.

Nor, although the paper was small, could the paucity of editorial and local matter be attributed chiefly to that cause; for considerable space was devoted to distant, and especially to foreign, news, and unimportant proclamations of European potentates were frequently published entire, while not a word was to be seen about anything occurring within two hundred miles of Buffalo.

It is plain that both the reporter who knows everything and the editor who has an opinion about everything remained long undeveloped on the shores of Lake Erie.

In one respect, however, the publishers showed a praiseworthy desire to furnish their readers, especially of the fairer sex, with interesting intelligence; under the proper head there were always several notices of marriage. But as a week frequently passed without a wedding in the vicinity, the columns of the exchanges were apparently ransacked for hymeneal intelligence. The Gazette of December 17, 1811, contains notices of one marriage in Ontario county, one in Oneida county, two in Connecticut and one in Montreal.

The selection was usually induced by some peculiarity in name or age, but instead of noticing it among the news items or comicalities, the oddity was transferred to the regular hymeneal list of Niagara county. Readers in those days might do without their daily murder, but marriages they must have.

On one occasion they were amply supplied without resorting to Connecticut or Montreal. The Gazette of Dec. 11, 1811, records the marriage "on Wednesday evening last," in the town of Willink, of Mr. Edward Paine to Miss Phebe Turner, of Mr. Levi Blake to Miss Polly Sanford, and of Mr. Thomas Holmes to Miss Martha Sanford.

Failures in business seem to have been quite common in proportion to the amount done; as one paper contains three, and another four notices for insolvent debtors to show cause why they should not be declared bankrupts.

Yet it is plain that business was generally flourishing. There were no advertisements for work, but many for workmen. In the course of a few weeks in the fall of 1811, Tallmadge & Mullett advertised for two or three journeymen tailors, John Tower for a journeyman shoemaker, Daniel Lewis for a "Taylor's" apprentice and a journeyman "Tailor," Stocking & Bull for three or four journeymen hatters, and Leech & Keep for two or three journeymen blacksmiths, at their shop at Cold Spring, "two miles from the village of Buffalo."

Certainly there would have been no bankruptcies had all creditors adopted the generous policy of Lyman Parsons, who advertised his earthenware at Cold Spring, and added: "He requests all those indebted to him, and whose promises have become due, to make payment or fresh promises!" No modern doctor of finance could have been more liberal.

The Patent Medicine Man was already an established institution, and M. Daley advertised several unfailing panaceas, their value being attested by certificates as ample, (and as truthful,) as those of the present day.

Among the merchants everybody dealt in everything. Nathaniel Sill & Co. dispensed "fish and cider" at Black Rock. Peter H. Colt, at the same place, dealt in "whisky, gin, buffalo-robes and feathers." Townsend & Coit advertised "linseed oil and new goods" in Buffalo.

The original name adopted by the Holland Company had not yet been utterly discarded. Notice was given that the "Ecclesiastical Society" would meet "at the school-house in the village of New Amsterdam," and Grosvenor & Heacock advertised goods "at their store in the village of New Amsterdam."

Even in those good old times, officials were sometimes guilty of "irregularities," and one of the few local items in the Gazette, under the head, "A delinquent and a villain," gave notice that Joseph Alward, who wore the double honors of constable of Willink and carrier of news, had "cleared out for Canada," taking two horses, eight or ten watches and other property. A news-carrier was an important functionary; he was the sole reliance of most of the inhabitants for papers and letters—there being but one post-office in the county out of Buffalo, and none south of the reservation. The next week after the disappearance of the "delinquent and villain," David Leroy gave notice that he had taken Alward's route, but he soon gave it up for lack of business. Another notice informed the people that a carrier named Paul Drinkwater had judiciously selected one route down the river and another up the lake.

A. S. Clarke, postmaster at Clarence, (his store it will be remembered was in the present town of Newstead,) advertised seven letters detained at his office for Clarence, and fifty for Willink. These latter had to be sent from fifteen to fifty miles by private conveyance.

There was still no regular preaching of the gospel in the county. Some steps were taken to that end, but nothing accomplished before the war.

In regard to religion and morality, Buffalo seems to have had a very bad reputation abroad—even worse then it deserved. The Gazette published a letter from a clergyman to "a gentleman in this village," saying:

"From what I had heard, I supposed that the people in general were so given to dissipation and vice that the preachers of Christianity would find few or no ears to hear: but most agreeably disappointed was I to find my audiences not only respectable in point of numbers, but solemn, decent, devout and which seemed gladly to hear the word."

Notwithstanding this readiness to hear the word, some things,

such as lotteries, were tolerated, which would now be looked on with general disfavor. A memorial was presented to the legislature, signed by many of the principal citizens of Niagara county, asking for $15,000 to build a road from the Genesee river to Buffalo, the State to be reimbursed by a lottery. The project was warmly endorsed by the Gazette. At the present day we should at least have morality enough to call the scheme a gift-enterprise. It does not appear to have been adopted.

The difficulty of deciding when "doctors disagree," has long been a favorite theme of philosophers, but it was more than usually great at the time and in the locality under consideration. The two Chapins, Daniel and Cyrenius, were the leaders of two factions, whose warfare was, as usual, made all the more intense by the small number of the contestants.

In November, 1811, there appeared a call for a meeting of the Medical Society of Niagara County, signed by Asa Coltrin, (partner of Dr. Cyrenius,) as secretary. The last of December, Dr. Daniel Chapin also gave notice of the meeting of the Medical Society of Niagara County. In the next number of the Gazette Dr. Cyrenius came to the front with a notice that Dr. Daniel's call was irregular, and that the Medical Society of Niagara County *had* met in November and adjourned to February first.

Then Dr. Daniel's society assembled, and its chief made a speech which sounds like a modern statesman's triumphant exposure of the wickedness of his political opponents. The rival association was described as making a contemptible display of depravity and weakness, exhibited only to be pitied and despised, and as being "a mutilated, ill-starred brat, scotched with the characterestic marks of its empirical accoucheur!"

By and by Dr. Cyrenius issued an address, not quite so virulent, but denouncing the other society as a humbug. He did not state the number of physicians in Niagara county at that time, but said that three years before (1809) there were sixteen. In 1812 there were probably about two dozen in the present counties of Erie and Niagara, two thirds of them being in the territory of the former. But they had a big enough war for five hundred.

Finally the Danielites sued the Cyreniusites for taking a letter from the post-office directed to "The Medical Society of Ni-

agara County," and just before the declaration of war the suit was decided in favor of the defendants. Then Dr. Josiah Trowbridge, secretary of the victorious faction, issued a bulletin of triumph in the Gazette, but the din of scalpels was soon extinguished in the more terrible conflict rapidly hastening to an outbreak.

The Frée Masons already had an organization in the village, and Western Star lodge gave notice that it would install its officers on the 10th of March, 1812.

The first of the many societies organized in Erie county by artisans was called the Mechanical Society, and was formed by the master mechanics of Buffalo on the 26th of March.

Joseph Bull (hatter) was elected president, Henry M. Campbell (also a hatter) and John Mullett (tailor), vice-presidents; with Robert Kaene, Asa Stanard, David Reese (blacksmith), Daniel Lewis (tailor), and Samuel Edsall (tanner), as standing committee.

This Mr. Edsall advertised his tannery and shoe shop as "on the Black Rock road, near the village of Buffalo." Considering that it stood at the corner of Niagara and Mohawk streets, it would undoubtedly now be considered as tolerably near Buffalo.

On the 20th day of March, 1812, the gigantic town of Willink was seriously reduced by a law erecting the towns of Hamburg, Eden and Concord. Hamburg contained the present towns of Hamburg and East Hamburg. Eden was composed of what is now Boston, Eden, Evans, and part of Brant, and Concord comprised the whole tract afterwards divided into Sardinia, Concord, Collins and North Collins—leaving Willink only twelve miles square, embracing Aurora, Wales, Holland and Colden. Besides, Willink and Hamburg nominally extended to the middle of the Buffalo reservation, and Collins covered that part of the Cattaraugus reservation situated in Niagara county.

The records of both Hamburg and Eden have been preserved to this day. In the former town the people first met on the 7th of April, 1812, at the house of Jacob Wright. The following officers were elected:

David Eddy, supervisor; Samuel Hawkins, town clerk; Isaac Chandler, Richard Smith and Nel. Whitticer, assessors; Abner

Wilson, constable and collector; Nathan Clark and Thomas Fish, overseers of the poor; James Browning, John Green and Amasa Smith, commissioners of highways; Daniel Smith, Gilbert Wright and Benjamin Henshaw, constables; Jotham Bemis and Abner Amsdell, pound-masters.

At the same meeting it was voted that last year's supervisor (of Willink) should "discharge our poor debt" by paying the poor-masters the sum of five dollars. As a specimen of cheap work, performed for the people, I have noted that, for making a map of the division of the town, Cotton Fletcher was voted the sum of one dollar.

The meeting adjourned till the next day when, with the new supervisor acting as "moderator," the people voted "that hogs should remain as the statute law directs." Also that five dollars per head should be paid for wolves and panthers. The record shows that there were twenty-one road districts at the organization of the town.

It does not appear that Eden was organized until the next year. For convenience, however, that organization is given here. Joseph Yaw was "moderator" of the meeting. John C. Twining was elected supervisor; John March, town clerk; Amos Smith, David Corbin and John Hill, assessors; Charles Johnson, Calvin Doolittle, and Richard Berry, Jr., commissioners of highways; Lemuel Parmalee, collector; John Conant and Silas Este, constables; John Welch and Asa Cary, poor-masters. There were thirteen road districts.

It is said that John Hill selected the name of Eden for the new town, on account of the paradisaical look which the country around Eden Center bore to his eye. For some unknown reason it was almost universally spelled "Edon" for many years, not only in writing, but when printed in the Gazette.

The records of Concord having been burned, its early organization cannot be given.

During all this time there was a constant and increasing ferment regarding war and politics. The growing dissatisfaction of the government and a majority of the people of the United States with the government of Great Britain, on account of her disregard of neutral rights in the contest with Napoleon, had at length reached the verge of war, and the denunciations of that

power in Congress, in State legislatures, in the press and in public meetings were constantly becoming more bitter. While this was the sentiment of the ruling party (that is the Democratic or Republican, for it went by both names,) the Federalists, who constituted a large and influential minority, opposed a war with England, asked for further negotiation, and met the Democratic denunciations of that country with still more bitter attacks on Napoleon, whom they accused the Republicans of favoring.

In February, Congress passed a law to organize an army of twenty-five thousand men. Shortly after, Daniel D. Tompkins, the republican governor of New York, made a speech to the legislature, advising that the State prepare for the coming contest.

This county up to that time had been decidedly Federal. Ebenezer Walden was the Federal member of assembly for the counties of Niagara, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua. In April, Abel M. Grosvenor was nominated for the assembly by a meeting of the Federalists, or as they termed themselves "Federal Republicans." At the same meeting a large committee was appointed, and, as it is to be presumed that the men selected were somewhat influential members of their party in that day, I transcribe a list of those residing in the present county of Erie:

Town of Buffalo—Nathaniel Sill, Joshua Gillett, Benjamin Caryl, James Beard, Gilman Folsom, Wm. B. Grant, John Russell, Daniel Lewis, Rowland Cotton, David Reese, Elisha Ensign, S. H. Salisbury, Ransom Harmon, Frederick House, Guy J. Atkins, Samuel Lasuer, John Duer, John Watkins, R. Grosvenor Wheeler, Fred. Buck, Henry Anguish, Nehemiah Seeley, Henry Doney, Solomon Eldridge and Holden Allen.

Clarence—Henry Johnson, Asa Fields, James Powers, James S. Youngs, William Baker, Archibald Black, John Stranahan, Josiah Wheeler, G. Stranahan, Benjamin O. Bivins, John Peck and Jonathan Barrett.

Willink—Abel Fuller, Ebenezer Holmes, John McKeen, Sanford G. Colvin, Levi Blake, Ephraim Woodruff, Daniel Haskell, Samuel Merriam, Dr. John Watson and John Gaylord, Jr.

Hamburg—Seth Abbott, Joseph Browning, William Coltrin, Ebenezer Goodrich, Cotton Fletcher, John Green, Samuel Abbott, Benjamin Enos, Pardon Pierce.

Eden—Charles Johnson, Luther Hibbard, Dorastus Hatch, Dr. John March, Job Palmer, Samuel Tubbs.

Concord—Joseph Hanchett, Solomon Fields, Samuel Cooper, Stephen Lapham, Gideon Lapham, Gideon Parsons, William S. Sweet.

As a companion to the Federal committee, I insert here the names of the members of a similar one composed of Democratic Republicans, though not appointed till a year or so later. They were Nathaniel Henshaw, Ebenezer Johnson, Pliny A. Field, William Best, Louis Le Couteulx and John Sample of Buffalo; Otis R. Hopkins, Samuel Hill, Jr., Daniel Rawson, James Baldwin, Daniel McCleary, Oliver Standard and Moses Fenno, of Clarence; David Eddy, Richard Smith, Samuel Hawkins, Giles Sage, William Warriner, Joseph Albert and Zenas Smith, of Hamburg; Elias Osborn, Israel Phelps, Jr., Daniel Thurston, Jr., William Warren, James M. Stevens, John Carpenter and Joshua Henshaw, of Willink; Christopher Stone, Benjamin Tubbs, Gideon Dudley, Amos Smith and Joseph Thorn, of Eden; and Rufus Eaton, Frederick Richmond, Allen King, Benjamin Gardner and Isaac Knox, of Concord.

Jonas Williams, the founder of Williamsville, was the Republican candidate for the assembly.

About the same time Asa Ransom was again appointed sheriff; Joseph Landon, Henry Brothers and Samuel Hill, Jr., coroners; Samuel Tupper and David Eddy, judges and justices; and Elias Osborne, then of Willink, justice of the peace. Shortly afterwards, Samuel Tupper, of Buffalo, was appointed first judge in place of Judge Porter, resigned.

Already there were fears of Indian assault. It was reported that a body of British and Indians were assembled at Newark, to make a descent on the people on this side. A public meeting was held at Cook's tavern, in Buffalo, at which the statement was declared untrue.

Early in May a lieutenant of the United States army advertised for recruits at Buffalo, offering those who enlisted for five years a hundred and sixty acres of land, three months' extra pay, and a bounty of sixteen dollars. The amount of bounty will not appear extravagant to modern readers.

Election was held on the 12th of May, and the approach of

war had evidently caused a great change in the strength of the two parties. The votes for member of assembly show at once the ascendency suddenly gained by the Democrats, and the comparative population of the several towns. For Grosvenor, Federal, Willink gave 71 votes, Hamburg 47, Eden 41, Concord 33, Clarence 72, Buffalo 123; total, 387. For Williams, Republican, Willink gave 114, Hamburg 110, Eden 46, Concord 50, Clarence 177, Buffalo 112; total, 609. Archibald S. Clarke was elected State senator, being the first citizen of Erie county to hold that office, as he had been the first assemblyman and first surrogate. The congressmen chosen for this district were both outside of Niagara county.

The militia were being prepared for war, at least to the extent of being amply provided with officers. In Lt.-Col. Chapman's regiment, Dr. Ebenezer Johnson was appointed "surgeon's mate," (assistant surgeon he would now be called;) Abiel Gardner and Ezekiel Sheldon, lieutenants; Oziel Smith, paymaster; John Hersey and Samuel Edsall, ensigns.

In Lt.-Col. Warren's regiment, Adoniram Eldridge, Charles Johnson, John Coon, Daniel Haskill, Benjamin Gardner and John Russell were appointed captains; Innis B. Palmer, Isaac Phelps, Timothy Fuller, Benjamin I. Clough, Gideon Person, Jr., Frederick Richmond and Varnum Kenyon, lieutenants; William Warriner, surgeon; Stephen Kinney, paymaster; Elihu Rice, Samuel Cochrane, Benjamin Douglass, Lyman Blackmar and Oliver Blezeo, ensigns.

Scarcely a day passed that rumors of Indian outrages did not startle the inhabitants of Niagara county, who looked with anxious eyes on the half-tamed Iroquois in their midst, many of whom had once bathed their hands in American blood. The rumors were all false, but the terror they inspired was none the less real.

Congress passed an act calling out a hundred thousand militia, (thirteen thousand five hundred of whom were from New York,) and the news was followed quickly by an order detailing two hundred and forty men from Hopkins' brigade, for immediate service. On the 17th of May, Col. Swift, of Ontario county, arrived at Buffalo to assume command on the frontier. On the 18th, the first detachment of militia marched through

that village on their way to Lewiston. They were from the south towns, and were commanded by Major Benj. Whaley.

On the 26th, Superintendent Granger, with the interpreters Jones and Parrish, held a council with the chiefs of the Six Nations in the United States. Mr. Granger did not seek to enlist their services, such not being the policy of the government, but urged them to remain neutral. To this they agreed, but said they would send a delegation to consult their brethren in Canada.

Meanwhile, the declaration of war was under earnest discussion in Congress.

On the 23d of June, Col. Swift, whose headquarters were at Black Rock, was in command of six hundred militia, besides which there was a small garrison of regulars at Fort Niagara. There was no artillery, except at the fort.

The preparations for war on the other side were somewhat better, there being six or seven hundred British regulars along the Niagara, and a hundred pieces of artillery. The excitement grew more intense every hour. Reckless men on either shore fired across the river "for fun," their shots were returned, and the seething materials almost sprang into flame by spontaneous combustion.

The morning of the 26th of June came. A small vessel, loaded with salt, which had just left Black Rock, was noticed entering Lake Erie by some of the citizens of Buffalo, and presently a British armed vessel from Ft. Erie was seen making its way toward the American ship. The latter was soon overtaken and boarded, and then both vessels turned their prows toward the British stronghold.

There could be but one explanation of this—the vessel was captured—and the news of war spread with lightning-like rapidity among the inhabitants of the little frontier village. All doubt was dispelled a few hours later by an express-rider from the East, bearing the President's proclamation of war. The Canadians had received the earliest news by reason of John Jacob Astor's sending a fast express to Queenston, twelve hours ahead of the government riders, to warn his agents there.

The War of 1812 had begun.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

Confusion.—Flight.—The School-mistress and the Officer.—"Silver Greys."—The "Queen Charlotte."—Salisbury's Battle.—"The Charlotte Taken."—Fear of Indians.—Red Jacket's Logic.—Iroquois Declaration of War.—Capture of Two British Vessels.—The First Victim of War.—Black Rock Bombarded.—A Late Breakfast.—The Queenston Failure.—Smyth's Proclamation.—A Gallant Vanguard.—A Vacillating General.—Invasion Relinquished.—An Erie County Duel.—A Riot among the Soldiers.—Political Matters.—Quiet.

The news of the declaration of war was disseminated with almost telegraphic rapidity, flying off from the main roads pursued by the express-riders, and speeding from one scattered settlement to another throughout Western New York.

Dire was the confusion created. In almost every locality divers counsels prevailed. Some were organizing as militia or volunteers; others, alarmed by the reports of instant invasion and by the ever horrible tale of Indian massacre, made a hasty retreat with their families toward the Genesee. Sometimes the fleeing citizens were met by emigrants who were pressing forward to make new homes in the wilderness, unchecked by the dangers of the day.

So great was the dismay that Mr. Ellicott issued an address to the settlers on the Holland Purchase, assuring them that the lines were well guarded and the country safe from invasion. The alarm is said to have been equally great on the other side, and the flight from the lines perhaps greater, as there were more people there to flee.

By the fourth of July three thousand American militia were assembled on the Niagara frontier, General William Wadsworth being in command. This looked like efficient action, and ere long the men who remained at home were working as steadily as usual, many families who had fled returned, and affairs resumed their ordinary course, save where along the Niagara, the

raw recruits marched, and countermarched, and panted for the chance to distinguish themselves which came to them all too soon.

At first, men of all classes and conditions were generally willing to turn out. Occasionally, however, one was found, even wearing the epaulet of an officer, who trembled at the bare idea of exchanging his cozy log house for the unknown terrors of the tented field. It is related of a wide-awake Springville school-mistress that she determined to have a little amusement at the expense of a boastful militia officer, who, not having been detailed for service, was loud in professing his anxiety for the joys of battle.

Borrowing a suit of uniform from a relative, she attired herself in it, partly concealed her face, went to the house of her victim, and announced herself as an aide-de-camp sent by the commanding general to call him instantly to the field. The sudden summons, coming when he had thought himself secure, utterly overcame his nerves, and he pleaded piteously for exemption from the dread decree. But in vain; he was ordered to prepare himself immediately, and it was only after he had almost gone on his knees to the stern official that the latter disclosed himself, or herself, and left the frightened official to muse on the deceitfulness of appearances.

Besides the ordinary militia, several companies were organized, composed of men too old to be called on for military duty. They were commonly called "Silver Greys." One such company was formed in Willink, of which Phineas Stephens was captain, Ephraim Woodruff lieutenant and Oliver Pattengill ensign. Another was organized in Hamburg under Captain Jotham Bemis.

Immediately on learning of the declaration of war, General Isaac Brock, commander-in-chief of the British forces in Upper Canada, and acting governor, took personal command on the Niagara frontier, and gave his attention to its defenses. Fort Erie was strengthened and a redoubt several rods long was erected opposite the residence of Congressman Porter, now the foot of Breckenridge street. Earthworks were also thrown up at Chippewa, Queenston and other points. The American side was similarly strengthened.

There was constant watchfulness for spies on both sides of the line, and many arrests were made.

The superiority of the British on the lake was a source of constant annoyance to the people on this side. At the beginning of the war there was not a single armed American vessel afloat, while the British had three—the Queen Charlotte, of twenty-two guns, the Hunter, of twelve guns, and a small schooner lately built.

The Queen Charlotte, in particular, kept the people of Hamburg and Evans in constant alarm. Riding off the shore, her boats would be sent to land to seize on whatever could be found, especially in the way of eatables and live stock.

At one time a party landed on the coast of Evans, near the farm of Aaron Salisbury, and began their work of plunder. Most of the men of the settlement were absent. Young Salisbury seized his musket, overtook the marauders as they were going to their boats and opened fire on them from the woods. They returned it, but without effect on either side. They then embarked on their vessel, which sailed northward. Knowing that the mouth of the Eighteen-Mile was a convenient landing place, Salisbury hurried thither through the woods. When he arrived they had just landed. He again opened a rapid fire from the friendly forest, and the foe thinking the whole country was rising against them, soon retreated to their boats and vessel, without doing any further harm.

Mrs. Root, of Evans Center, then the eight-year old daughter of Anderson Taylor, informs me that these incursions from the Charlotte were quite frequent that first summer, and that the men of the scattered settlements were often taken on board as prisoners, kept a few days and then liberated. When the men were absent in the militia, some of the women did not take off their clothes for weeks together; keeping themselves always ready for instant flight.

It must have been, then, with feelings of decided gratification that Erie county people read the head-line in large capitals, of a notice in the Gazette, entitled, "The Charlotte Taken." But the ensuing lines, though pleasant enough, only announced the marriage in Hamburg, by "Hon. D. Eddy, Esq.," of Mr. Jared Canfield, "a sergeant in Captain McClure's volunteer com-

pany," to Miss Charlotte King, daughter of Mr. N. King, of Concord.

As has been said, the most intense anxiety was felt by the Americans regarding the Indians on both sides of the line. The British, in accordance with their ancient policy, made immediate arrangements on the outbreak of war to enlist the Mohawks, and other Canadian Indians, in their service. These sent emissaries to the Six Nations in New York, to persuade them to engage on the same side. The settlers on the Holland Purchase, and especially in the county of Niagara, were not only alarmed at the prospect of invasion by savage enemies, but also lest the Senecas and others on this side should allow their ancient animosities to be rekindled, and break out into open rebellion. It must be confessed the danger was not slight, for there was good ground for believing that some at least of the Seneca warriors had been engaged against the United States at the battle of Tippecanoe, only the year before.

Mr. Granger was active in averting the danger, and on the 6th of July he convened a council of the Six Nations in the United States, on the Buffalo reservation. It was opened, as a matter of course, by Red Jacket, and Mr. G. in a long speech set forth the cause of the war from the American point of view, urging the Indians to have nothing to do with the quarrels of the whites, but to remain quietly at home during the war.

He said, however, that he was aware that many of their young braves were anxious to engage in the fight, and if they must do so, he preferred it should be on the side of the United States. If, therefore, they were determined to see something of the war, perhaps a hundred and fifty or two hundred of their warriors would be accepted by the government.

At the next meeting of the council Red Jacket replied, declaring in favor of neutrality, saying that he hoped no warriors would be accepted by the government without permission of the great council, and asking leave to make another effort to persuade the Mohawks to abandon the war-path. This was granted, and a deputation of five chiefs, with considerable difficulty, obtained permission from General Brock to visit their Mohawk brethren. The effort, however, was useless, as the Canadian Indians were fully determined not to bury the hatchet.

The neutrality of the Senecas, Cayugas, etc., continued for only a brief time. In fact, the excitement of war was so infectious, not only to the "young braves," but to many of those who considered themselves the cautious guardians of their people, that they were quite willing to seize the first excuse for numbering themselves among the combatants.

In this same month of July a rumor got afloat that the British had taken possession of Grand Island, which was under the jurisdiction of the United States, but the title of which was in the Senecas. It has generally been supposed that this rumor was entirely without foundation, but Mr. John Simpson, of Tonawanda, informs me differently. He states that several hundred Indians appeared on the shores of Grand Island, opposite Tonawanda. There were then sixteen soldiers in the guardhouse there. They had been notified of the approach of the Indians, and all the citizens around had been called in. These were furnished with the extra uniforms of the soldiers, to increase the apparent number. They were also, after being paraded, marched into view with all their coats turned wrong side out, giving at that distance the appearance of a new corps with different uniforms. The enemy made no attempt to cross. Red Jacket convoked a council, and asked permission of Superintendent Granger to drive away the intruders, using the following shrewd logic in support of his request. Said he:

"Our property is taken possession of by the British and their Indian friends. It is necessary now for us to take up the business, defend our property and drive the enemy from it. If we sit still upon our seats and take no means of redress, the British, according to the custom of you white people, will hold it by conquest. And should you conquer the Canadas you will hold it on the same principles; because you will have taken it from the British."

Permission being granted, another council was held shortly after, at which a formal declaration of war was adopted, and reduced to writing by the interpreter. As this was probably the first—perhaps the only—declaration of war ever published by an Indian nation or confederacy in writing, and as its language was commendably brief, it is transcribed entire, as follows:

"We, the chiefs and counselors of the Six Nations of Indians,

residing in the State of New York, do hereby proclaim to all the war-chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations that war is declared on our part against the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Therefore, we command and advise all the war-chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations to call forth immediately the warriors under them, and put them in motion to protect their rights and liberties."

Notwithstanding this declaration, however, no Indians, (at least no considerable number of them,) took the field on our side that year. It was soon ascertained that the occupation of Grand Island was not permanent, and there were many of the older chiefs, with Red Jacket at their head, who were really desirous that their people should remain neutral. But more potent, probably, than the restraining voice of their sachems, were the quick-coming disasters to the American arms.

The militia kept marching to the frontier. There was no lack of numbers, nor of apparent enthusiasm. They were all anxious to capture Canada the next day after their arrival. But they were utterly ignorant of actual war, and the first touch of reality chilled them to the marrow.

They were not called out *en masse*, nor were specified regiments ordered to the field. Details were made of the number required from each brigade, and these were collected by details from the different regiments and companies. Temporary companies and regiments were thus formed, to endure only through the few weeks of active service. Of course officers and men were unused to each other, the organization was unfamiliar to both, and the efficiency of the command was in the very lowest state.

Lt.-Col. Chapman, commander of the Buffalo and Clarence regiment, moved away about the beginning of the war, and no one was appointed in his place until after its close. Major Samuel Hill, Jr., was the senior officer. Most of the Buffalonians seem to have formed themselves into independent companies, and Hill's command was left so small that whenever the militia was called out *en masse* it was joined with Warren's regiment.

Gen. Amos Hall, of Ontario county, major general of this division of the State militia, was in command on the frontier, for a short time, succeeding Gen. Wadsworth. On the 11th of

July he was superseded by Major General Stephen Van Rensselaer, also of the militia, but a man of some experience in actual war. He established his headquarters and assembled his principal force at Lewiston.

During the lull which succeeded the first excitement, one of the founders of Buffalo, Captain Samuel Pratt, passed away from life, in August, 1812. On the 27th of that month an extra Gazette announced the surrender by Gen. Hull of Detroit and his whole army, to an inferior force of British and Indians. Terrible was the disappointment of the people, as well it might be, over that disgraceful affair, and dire were the fulminations of the press. But denunciation was all too late, and public attention in this vicinity was soon turned toward events nearer home.

The fires of faction burned as fiercely then as in any later days. There was bitter opposition to the war among the Federals of many States, opposition which hardly confined itself to legitimate discussion—while on the Democratic side mob violence, reaching even to murder, was sometimes resorted to to silence the malcontents.

In September a convention was held at Albany, which denounced the war, and shortly afterwards a meeting of the friends of "Peace, Liberty and Commerce" was called at "Pomeroy's long hall," in Buffalo, for the same purpose. Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, however, though an ardent Federalist, had entered with great zeal into all measures looking toward vigorous work on this frontier, and was by general consent given the lead so far as the citizens of Buffalo were concerned.

On the 8th of October, a detachment of sailors arrived on the frontier from New York, and were placed under the command of Lieut. Jesse D. Elliott, stationed at Black Rock. Their march had been hastened by a dispatch from Lieut. E., who had conceived a bold plan for cutting out two British armed vessels which had just come down the lake, and were lying at anchor near Fort Erie. One was the brig Detroit, of six guns, lately captured from the United States, and generally called by its former name, the Adams; the other was the schooner Caledonia, of two guns.

This was the first hostile enterprise which took place in, or started from, Erie county, during the war of 1812.

The seamen on their arrival were found almost without weapons, but Generals Smyth and Hall, of the regulars and militia, furnished some arms, and the former detailed fifty men under Captain Towson, to accompany the expedition. Dr. Chapin and a few other Buffalo volunteers also entered into the scheme.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 9th of October, three boats put out from the American shore, with their prows directed toward Fort Erie. The first contained fifty men under Lieut. Elliott in person, the second forty-seven under Sailing-Master Watts, while the third was manned by six Buffalonians under Dr. Chapin.

The boats moved stealthily across the river, and the darkness of the night favored the project. Arriving at the side of their prey, the three crews boarded both vessels almost at the same time. The men on board the latter made a vigorous resistance, and a sharp but brief conflict ensued, in which two of the assailants were killed and five wounded. In ten minutes, however, the enemy was overpowered, the cables cut, and the vessels on their way down the river. The Caledonia was brought to anchor near Black Rock, but the Adams was carried by the current on the west side of Squaw Island, and ran aground.

The prisoners taken by the Americans in this gallant achievement numbered seventy-one officers and men, part of whom, however, were Canadian voyageurs. Besides these the captors released about forty American prisoners, captured at the River Raisin and on their way to Quebec.

As the two vessels passed Black Rock a heavy cannonade was opened from the Canadian shore, and returned from the ships. After the Adams ran aground the fire was so heavy that the vessel was abandoned, the men safely reaching the shore. Shortly afterwards the enemy took possession of it, but were in turn soon driven away by the firing from island and mainland. Believing it would be impracticable to keep possession of it, the Americans set it on fire and burned it to the water's edge.

The first shot from the British batteries instantly killed Major William Howe Cuyler, of Palmyra, principal aide-de-camp of General Hall, as he was galloping with orders along the river road, between four and five o'clock in the morning. His death was the first one caused by the war within the present

county of Erie, and, as he was a highly connected and highly esteemed young officer, his sudden taking off caused a profound sensation. It was felt that war had really come.

Some three hundred shots were fired from the British batteries, several of which passed through buildings at Black Rock. In fact Black Rock must have been a very unpleasant place of residence throughout the war. Inmates of its houses were often startled by a cannon ball crashing through the roof, and not infrequently a breakfast or dinner was suddenly interrupted by one of these unwelcome messengers.

Mrs. Benjamin Bidwell relates, in some reminiscences furnished to the Historical Society, that she and her husband, driven by the cannonade from their own residence that morning, were going to her sister's where there was a cellar in which they proposed to take refuge, when a cannon ball passed near them, knocking down by its wind a little girl she was leading. They then fled to the woods, where they found several other families. Having obtained some provisions Mrs. B. was cooking breakfast late in the forenoon, by an improvised fire in the forest, when another cannon ball struck the fire and scattered the breakfast in every direction. Again they fled, and being determined this time to get out of range, they made their toilsome way through the woods to Cold Spring. There Mrs. Bidwell cooked a breakfast which was eaten by the family at four o'clock in the afternoon.

If the people of this vicinity were slightly cheered by the achievement of Lt. Elliott and his command, they were at once cast down again by the news of the defeat of Gen. Van Rensselaer at Queenston, where a few hundred gallant men, who had crossed the Niagara, were left to be slaughtered and captured through the cowardice of an ample force which stood on the American shore unheeding all appeals to aid their comrades.

The news reached Buffalo on the 13th of October, accompanied with notice of a week's armistice. The Americans were engaged in getting the guns out of the hulk of the Adams. The commander at Ft. Erie required them to desist on account of the armistice, but the Americans insisted that, as the Adams had already been brought on their side of the line, they had a right to move her guns wherever they pleased, so long as they made no attack on the British. The latter opened fire on the

troops aboard the hulk, but did no damage, and at night the ever-enterprising Chapin went on board with a party and brought away a 12-pounder, as did also Lt. Watts afterwards.

Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer, (nephew of the general,) who had gallantly led the column which stormed the heights of Queenston, and had been severely wounded on that occasion, was brought to Landon's hotel at Buffalo, where he lay, slowly recovering, for four weeks. When he was sufficiently recovered he left for Albany, a salute being fired in his honor by several volunteer companies and by "Chapin's Independent Buffalo Matross," which I presume to have been some kind of an artillery company organized by the indefatigable doctor, whose zeal and activity were unquestionable whatever might sometimes be thought of his judgment.

Gen. Van Rensselaer being relieved from duty, Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth, of the regular army, who had been on the lines a short time as inspector-general, was assigned to the command of the Niagara frontier immediately after the conclusion of the armistice. Gen. Smyth was a Virginian, who in 1808 had abandoned his profession and resigned a seat in the legislature of his State to accept a colonelcy in the army, and who had lately been promoted to a brigadiership. Immediately on taking command he began concentrating troops at Buffalo and Black Rock, preparatory to an invasion of Canada. Thus far he certainly showed better judgment than his predecessors, as it was a much more feasible project to land an army on the gentle slopes below Fort Erie than to scale the precipitous heights of Queenston.

He also had scows constructed to transport the artillery, and collected boats for the infantry. Eight or nine hundred regulars were got together under Col. Moses Porter, Col. Winder, Lieut.-Col. Boerstler and other officers.

On the 12th of November Gen. Smyth issued a flaming address from his "Camp near Buffalo" to the men of New York, calling for their services, and declaring that in a few days the troops under his command would plant the American standard in Canada. Said he: "They will conquer or they will die."

On the 17th he sent forth a still more bombastic proclamation, closing with the pompous call, "Come on, my heroes!"

A considerable force came to Buffalo. A brigade of militia, nearly two thousand strong, arrived from Pennsylvania. Three or four hundred New York volunteers reported themselves, including the two companies of "Silver Greys" before mentioned. Peter B. Porter, who then, or shortly after, was appointed quartermaster-general of the State militia, was assigned to the command of these New York volunteers, and was ever after known as General Porter. Under him was Col. Swift, of Ontario county. Smyth deemed that the time had come to "conquer or die."

On the 27th of November the general commanding issued orders to cross the river the next day. There were then over four thousand men at and near Black Rock, but as a large portion of them were militia, it is not exactly certain how many he could have counted on for a movement into the enemy's country. He, however, admitted that there were seventeen hundred, including the regulars and the twelve-months' volunteers, who were ready, and Gen. Porter claimed that nearly the whole force was available. There were boats sufficient to carry at least three thousand men.

A little after midnight the next morning detachments were sent across the river, one under Lt.-Col. Boerstler, and the other under Capt. King, with whom was Lt. Angus of the navy and fifty or sixty seamen. The first named force was intended to capture a guard and destroy a bridge about five miles below Fort Erie, while King and Angus were to take and spike the enemy's cannon opposite Black Rock. Boerstler returned without accomplishing anything of consequence, but the force under King and Angus behaved with great gallantry, and materially smoothed the way for those who should have followed.

They landed at three in the morning. Angus, with his sailors and a few soldiers, attacked and dispersed a force of the enemy stationed at what was called "the red house," spiking two field-pieces and throwing them into the river. Nine out of the twelve naval officers engaged, and twenty-two of the men, were killed or wounded in this brilliant little feat. The sailors and some of the soldiers then returned, bringing a number of prisoners, but through some blunder no boats were left to bring over Capt. King, who with sixty men remained behind.

King and his men then attacked and captured two batteries, spiked their guns, and took thirty-four prisoners. Having found two boats, capable of holding about sixty men, the gallant captain sent over his prisoners, half his men, and all his officers, remaining behind himself with thirty men. He doubtless expected Smyth's whole army in an hour or two, and thought he could take care of himself until that time.

Soon after the return of these detachments, Col. Winder, mistakenly supposing that Boerstler was cut off, crossed the river with two hundred and fifty men to rescue him. He reached the opposite shore a considerable distance down the river, where he was attacked at the water's edge by a body of infantry and a piece of artillery, and compelled to return with the loss of six men killed and nineteen wounded. Boerstler's command returned without loss.

The general embarkation then commenced, but went on very slowly. About one o'clock in the afternoon the regulars, the twelve-month's volunteers and a body of militia, the whole making a force variously estimated at from fourteen hundred to two thousand men, were in boats at the navy yard, at the mouth of Scajaquada creek.

"Then," says Smyth in his account of the affair, with ludicrous solemnity, "the troops moved up the stream to Black Rock without loss." This tremendous feat having been accomplished, the general, (still following his own account,) ordered them to disembark and dine! And then he called a council of war to see whether he had better cross the river! It is not surprising that, with such a commander, several of the officers consulted were opposed to making the attempt. It was at length decided to postpone the invasion a day or two, until more boats could be made ready. Late in the afternoon the troops were ordered to their quarters. Of course they were disgusted with such a ridiculous failure, and demoralization spread rapidly on all sides. Gen. Smyth at the time did not pretend that the most vigilant observation could discover more than five hundred men on the opposite shore. They were drawn up in line about half a mile from the water's edge.

Meanwhile the gallant Capt. King was left to his fate, and was taken prisoner with all his men.

The next day was spent in preparation. On Sunday, the 30th, the troops were ordered to be ready to embark at nine o'clock the following morning.

By this time the enemy had remounted his guns, so that it would have been very difficult to cross above Squaw Island. On the shore below it were stationed his infantry and some artillery, every man having been obtained that possibly could be from the surrounding country. The current there was rapid and the banks abrupt.

General Porter objected to attempting a landing there, and made another proposition. He advocated postponing the expedition till Monday night, when the troops should embark in the darkness, and should put off an hour and a half before daylight. They could then pass the enemy in the dark, and land about five miles below the navy yard, where the stream and the banks were favorable. These views were seconded by Colonel Winder and adopted by General Smyth, his intention being to assault Chippewa, and if successful march through Queenston to Fort George.

Then it was found that the quarter-master had not rations enough for two thousand five hundred men for four days!

Nevertheless the embarkation commenced at three o'clock, on the morning of Tuesday, the first of December. Again some fifteen hundred men were placed in boats. It was arranged that General Porter was to lead the van and direct the landing, on account of his knowledge of the river and the farther shore. He was attended in the leading boat by Majors Chapin and McComb, Captain Mills, Adjutant Chase, Quarter-master Chaplin, and some twenty-five volunteers from Buffalo, under Lieut. Haynes.

But the embarkation of the regulars was greatly delayed, and daylight appeared before the flotilla was under way. Then the redoubtable Smyth called another council of war, composed of four regular officers, to decide whether Canada should be invaded that season! They unanimously decided it should not. So the troops were again ordered ashore, the militia and most of the volunteers sent home, and the regulars put into winter quarters.

The breaking up of the command was attended by scenes of the wildest confusion—four thousand men firing off their guns,

cursing General Smyth, their officers, the service and everything connected with their military experience.

The disgust of the public was equally great. Smyth became the object of universal derision. His bombastic addresses were republished in doggerel rhyme, and the press teemed with denunciation and ridicule of the pompous Virginian.

Men unacquainted with military matters frequently cast blame on unsuccessful generals, which the facts if fully known would not justify ; but in this case General Smyth's own statement, published a few days after his failure, proves beyond doubt that he was either demoralized by sheer cowardice, or else that his mind was vacillating to a degree which utterly unfitted him for military command. The mere fact of his twice waiting till his men were in boats for the purpose of invading Canada, before calling a council of war to decide whether Canada should be invaded, showed him to be entirely deficient in the qualifications of a general.

There can be little doubt that if the forces had promptly crossed, and been resolutely led, on the morning of the 28th of November, they would have effected a landing, and for the time at least could have held the opposite shore. The enterprise of Captain King and Lieut. Angus had been well planned and gallantly executed, giving substantially a clear field to the American army. Whether if they had crossed they could have effected any lasting results at that season, is a matter of more doubt.

Gen. Porter published a card in the Buffalo Gazette of December 8th, in which he plumply charged Gen. Smyth with cowardice, declaring that the regular officers decided against crossing because of the demoralized condition of their commander. According to the opinions then in vogue it was impossible under such circumstances for Smyth to avoid sending a challenge, and he did so immediately. Gen. Porter accepted, and selected Lt. Angus as his second, while Col. Winder acted on behalf of Gen. Smyth.

It seems curious to think of a duel having been fought within the borders of law-abiding Erie, but such was nevertheless the fact. On the afternoon of the 14th the two generals, with their friends and surgeons, met at "Dayton's tavern," below Black

Rock, and crossed to the head of Grand Island, in accordance with previous arrangements. Arriving at the ground selected, one shot was fired by each of the principals, according to the official statement of the seconds, "in as intrepid and firm a manner as possible," but without effect. Col. Winder then represented that Gen. Porter must now be satisfied that the charge of cowardice was unfounded, and after divers explanations that charge was retracted. Then Gen. Smyth withdrew sundry uncomplimentary expressions which he had used regarding Porter, and then "the hand of reconciliation was extended and received," and all the gentlemen returned to Buffalo. It does not appear that there was any great desire for blood on either side.

Soon afterwards Gen. Porter published a statement of the facts concerning the embarkation which came within his knowledge, but without indulging in any animadversions.

Doctor (or Major) Chapin was more furious than Porter, and also came out in a statement, bitterly denunciatory of Smyth. In January, after Smyth had left the frontier, he published still another statement, but he could not alter the ugly facts of the case. The account heretofore given is deduced from a careful comparison of the various publications just mentioned, and of the official reports of subordinate officers.

As near as I can ascertain it was just after the wretched failure of Smyth that a serious outbreak occurred in Buffalo, threatening at one time to involve citizens and soldiers in a wide-spread scene of bloodshed.

All through the war there was more or less ill-feeling between the citizens and the soldiers, especially the volunteers and militia from other localities. The troops claimed that they were ill-treated by those whom they came especially to defend; the citizens declared that the armed men made unreasonable and extortionate demands. The feeling was probably intensified by the fact that many of the leading citizens of Buffalo were Federals, whom it was easy to represent as disloyal.

Among the troops gathered by Smyth were six companies called "Federal Volunteers," under Lieut.-Col. F. McClure, including two or three companies of "Irish Greens" from Albany and New York, and one of "Baltimore Blues" from that city.

Ralph M. Pomeroy, who kept the hotel at the corner of Main

and Seneca streets, was an athletic, resolute man, and rather rough-spoken. There had been difficulties between him and some of the soldiers before. At the time in question a dispute occurred between Pomeroy and the captain of an Albany company, which is said to have originated in a demand made by the officer or his men for food and liquor. The captain drew his sword and drove the hotel-keeper down stairs. Pomeroy swore he wished the British would kill the whole infernal crowd of them.

The few soldiers present left for camp, and in a short time an armed mob of "Baltimore Blues" and "Irish Greens" came down Main street. The guests, including several army officers, were at dinner, when the assailants commenced operations by throwing an axe through a window, directly upon the table. The diners sprang up, the mob rushed in, drove them out, and began the destruction of everything that could be laid hold of. Provisions were devoured, liquors drank, windows smashed, and chairs and tables broken in pieces.

Among the guests was Colonel McClure, the battalion commander of these very men, but he was powerless to control them. He went to the stable, mounted his horse and rode through the house, ordering them to disperse, but produced no effect. Then he ordered out the companies from Carlisle and Gettysburg under his command, and marched them down in front of the hotel, but these, though taking no part in the riot themselves, would do nothing to quell it.

Pomeroy concealed himself in his barn. His wife's sister-in-law, who was confined to her bed, was obliged to be carried upon it to a neighbor's house.

The rioters grew more and more furious. Beds were piled up in the second story, and set fire to, and a conflagration was only averted by the courage of "Hank Johnson," a white companion of the Cattaraugus Indians, who ascended a ladder on the outside, and, although it was snatched from under him by the rioters, managed to clamber through the window and throw the burning articles into the street.

Seeing Mr. Abel P. Grosvenor, a large man somewhat resembling Pomeroy, passing along the street, the mob raised the cry, "Kill the damned tory," chased him down Main street until he

fell, and were apparently about to put their threat in execution, when they learned it was not Pomeroy. Others proposed to tear down the "Federal printing office," as they called the Buffalo Gazette, and everything betokened a general carnival of destruction.

Before, however, the riot spread any further, Colonel Moses Porter, of the United States artillery, a veteran of thirty-six years service, interposed. His men were probably encamped at Flint Hill, north of Scajaquada creek. When he learned what was going on, he ordered out a detachment of artillery with a six-pound gun, and hastened down Main street. Halting just above the hotel he brought his gun to bear on it, and then sent a lieutenant and a platoon of men with drawn swords to clear the house. The order was vigorously carried out, and it is to be presumed that some resistance was made, as swords and pistols were freely used, and several of the mob killed and wounded. They were soon driven out, many jumping from the chamber windows, and some being severely cut as they clung to the window-sills, by the swords of the artillerists. The rest hastened to their encampment to seek their comrades, swearing vengeance against Porter and his men.

The veteran stationed his cannon at the junction of Main and Niagara streets, to await their coming, and for awhile it looked as if there might be a pitched battle in the streets of Buffalo. No attack was made, however, and order was at length restored. It indicates the kind of discipline in force that the rioters were in no way punished, except by the severe handling they received from Porter.

Pomeroy went to the Seneca village and remained some days, and then closed his hotel for the winter. That the proprietors of the Gazette considered themselves in a very delicate and dangerous position is shown by the fact that that journal does not contain one word, directly, about this important transaction. The only time it is spoken of in the paper is in an advertisement published December 15th, signed by Pomeroy, in which he declares that he shall close his hotel "in consequence of transactions too well known to need mentioning."

An epidemic, the nature of which was unknown, prevailed that winter on the frontier, carrying off many, both soldiers and

citizens. Dr. Chapin and a Dr. Wilson called a meeting of physicians to endeavor to counteract it. It did not much abate till the last of January, 1813. Mr. Grosvenor only escaped the raging mob to die a few weeks later, in the East, of disease contracted here. Major Phineas Stephens, the commander of the Willink "Silver Greys," was another victim; he died at Black Rock, and was taken to Willink and buried with military honors.

In the middle of December an election was held for members of Congress. The Republicans (Democrats) renominated Gen. Porter, but he declined, and Messrs. Bates and Loomis were voted for by them in this congressional district. The Federalists supported Messrs. Howell and Hopkins, who were elected. The latter received sixty-one votes in the town of Buffalo, thirty-six in Hamburg, forty-one in Clarence, and thirty-seven in "Edon." The Republican candidates received thirty-four in Buffalo, eighty-one in Hamburg, ninety-two in Clarence, and fourteen in Eden. It was a light vote, but it will be seen that Buffalo and Eden were decidedly Federal, while Hamburg and Clarence were as decidedly Republican.

Says the next Gazette: "We understand" that no election was held in Willink and Concord. Their understanding was correct, but it is remarkable not only that no election was held, but also that a newspaper at the county-seat should not have been fully informed as to whether there was one or not.

Tompkins, who was personally popular, was elected governor by the Democrats, but the disasters of the summer, under a Democratic administration, had so aided the Federals that nineteen out of the twenty-seven congressmen chosen in this State, and the majority of the assembly, belonged to the latter party. The State senate, however, was largely Democratic. In the nation at large, Madison was reëlected President by a decided majority over De Witt Clinton, who had been a Democrat, but was an independent opposition candidate. He received the Federal vote, but declared himself in favor of a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

There can be little doubt but that if that energetic leader had become President instead of the plausible but inefficient Madison, the war would not have been the wretched, milk-and-water

affair that it was. One side or the other would have been soundly whipped.

On the 22d of December the immortal Smyth resigned his command to Col. Moses Porter, and retired to Virginia on leave of absence. Before his leave expired Congress legislated him out of office, and the country received no further benefit from his military genius.

For several months after the election, there was general quiet on this part of the frontier, relieved only by occasional "statements" on the part of some of the heroes of the latest and most remarkable invasion of Canada.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

The Young Commodore.—Officers and Committeemen.—Hunters Caught.—Canada Invaded.—Transition Period of our Military System.—Surrender at Beaver Dams.—Chapin's Exploit.—Indians Enrolled.—Farmer's Brother and the Marauders.—A Raid and its Repulse.—Skirmishing at Fort George.—Perry's Victory.—A Patriotic Digression.—More Skirmishing.—Burning of Newark.—McClure Runs Away.—Fort Niagara Captured.—Danger Impending.

Early in March, while all was still quiet among the land forces, a young man of twenty-six, with curling locks, bold, handsome features and gallant bearing, wearing the uniform of a captain in the United States navy, arrived at Buffalo from the East, and after a brief stay went forward to Erie. His brilliant yet manly appearance was well calculated to make a favorable impression, yet to many thoughtful men he seemed too young, and possibly too gay, for the arduous and responsible position to which he had been appointed. But a few months were to demonstrate that for once the government had made an admirable selection, for the youthful stranger was Oliver Hazard Perry, then on his way to superintend the fitting out of a naval armament at Erie.

During the winter the government had purchased a number of merchant vessels, for the purpose of converting them into men-of-war, and the construction of several new ones had been begun. Erie, from its comparatively secure harbor, had been wisely selected as the naval headquarters. Five vessels, however, were fitted out in Scajaquada creek, and for several months Perry flitted back and forth between the two places, urging on the work with all the energy of his nature.

Though hardly to be called a part of the "campaign," there are a few items that can be more easily introduced here than elsewhere. The supervisors for 1813 were Elijah Holt of Buffalo, James Cronk of Clarence, Elias Osborn of Willink, Sam-

uel Abbott of Hamburg, and John C. Twining of Eden; Concord unknown.

For a short time the ever-active Dr. Chapin officiated as sheriff, but in the spring he was superseded by Asa Ransom, who had twice before held the office. The change was perhaps caused by the doctor's acceptance of a commission from the governor as lieutenant-colonel by brevet. Under that commission he subsequently acted, but in very much the same independent fashion as before. Amos Callender was appointed surrogate. Jonas Williams was reëlected to the assembly by the Republicans.

Up to April the war was apparently frozen up. Early in that month the Buffalonians were sharply reminded that they must be careful where they strayed. Lieutenant Dudley, of the navy, Dr. Trowbridge, Mr. Frederick B. Merrill and three seamen, while hunting on Strawberry Island, were discovered from the Canadian shore, a squad of men was sent across, and all were captured. The two civilians were released, but the lieutenant and his men were of course retained.

Ere long soldiers began to arrive on the frontier, besides those who had remained during the winter. On the 17th of April, Major-General Lewis and Brigadier-General Boyd arrived in Buffalo to assume command according to their respective ranks. General Dearborn took command on the whole northern frontier. The British force on the other side of the Niagara was very weak.

The campaign in the north was commenced by an expedition from Sacket's Harbor, under Gen. Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey, by which York (now Toronto) was captured by a dashing attack, the gallant General Pike being killed by the explosion of the enemy's magazine. This triumph prevented the sending of reënforcements to the British forts on the Niagara, and when our fleet appeared off Fort George, about the 25th of May, it was immediately evacuated.

The Americans under Gen. Lewis crossed and occupied it. Gen. Porter acted as volunteer aid-de-camp to Gen. Lewis, and the Buffalo Gazette takes pains to state that "Dr. C. Chapin, of this village, was in the vanguard." The British retreated toward the head of Lake Ontario.

The same day the commandant at Fort Erie, who held that post with a body of militia, received orders under which he kept up a heavy cannonade on Black Rock until the following morning, when he bursted his guns, blew up his magazines, destroyed his stores and dismissed his men. All the other public stores, barracks and magazines, from Chippewa to Point Abino, were likewise destroyed. Lt.-Col. Preston, the commandant at Black Rock, immediately crossed and took possession.

So, at length, the Americans had obtained possession of the Canadian side of the Niagara, and it would seem that it need not have been difficult to retain it. But the blundering of the government, the weakness of commanders, and the general apathy of the people during a great part of that war were alike astonishing.

The greatest difficulty was that of obtaining a permanent force. In fact a great part of the disasters of the war of 1812 were attributable to a cause which I have never yet seen fully set forth. The whole military system of the country was in a transition state.

During the revolution, the sole military reliance of the nation was on the regular "Continental" army. But thirty years of free government had made Americans extremely unwilling to subject themselves to the menial position and supposed despotic discipline of the regular service. On the other hand, the system of organizing volunteers which has since been found so effective was then in its infancy.

Frequent attempts were made in that direction, but they were generally managed by the State authorities, the discipline was of the most lax description, and the terms of service were excessively short. In Smyth's command, as we have seen, were a few "Federal volunteers," enlisted for twelve months, but they were composed of six independent companies, from different States, temporarily aggregated in a battallion.

There was not a single organization corresponding to the present definition of a volunteer regiment—a body of intelligent freemen, enlisted for a long term of service, officered by the State authorities, but otherwise controlled entirely by those of the nation, and subject to the same rules as the regulars, though modified in their application by the character of the force.

As a general rule, if a volunteer of 1812 stayed on the line three months, he thought he had done something wonderful.

Moreover, there were at first almost no officers. Those who had fought in the Revolution were generally too old for active service, and West Point had not yet furnished a body of men whose thorough instruction supplies to a great extent the lack of experience. A little knowledge of the history of the war of 1812 ought to satisfy the most frantic reformer of the overwhelming necessity of maintaining the National Military Academy in the most efficient condition.

Add to these causes of weakness a timid, vacillating President, and a possible unwillingness of the then dominant South to strengthen the North by the acquisition of Canada, and there are sufficient reasons for the feebleness characterizing the prosecution of the war of 1812.

Yet many rude efforts were made to provide against possible disaster. It was in 1813, as I am informed, that the inhabitants on the upper part of Cazenove creek, most of them living in the present town of Holland, combined and built a stockade of considerable magnitude on the farm of Arthur Humphrey. Logs were cut nearly fifteen feet long, hewn on two sides so as to fit closely together, and set side by side two or three feet in the earth, leaving some twelve feet above ground. About an acre was thus inclosed, and the walls being loop-holed for rifles the inhabitants hoped to defy any Indian assailants, or even white men unprovided with artillery. The stockade was commonly called "Fort Humphrey," and long after peace had returned, long after the primitive fortress had disappeared from sight, the Humphrey place was known for miles around as "the Fort Farm."

About the same time, or perhaps the year before, Captain Bemis' barn in Hamburg was surrounded by a similar stockade, twelve feet high. There was also a block-house built in that vicinity. Joseph Palmer's barn in Boston was likewise stockaded, and there may have been other such fortifications in the county of which I have not happened to hear.

Decidedly the most active partisan commander on the Niagara frontier was Col. Chapin, though there may be some doubts as to the usefulness of his efforts, so irregular and desultory

were they. In June he organized a company of mounted riflemen, for the purpose of clearing the country along the other side of the river of scattered bands of foes.

They proceeded to Fort George, and on the 23d of June a force started up the river from that point. It consisted of four or five hundred regular infantry, twenty regular dragoons, and Chapin's company of forty-four mounted riflemen, the whole under Lt.-Col. Boerstler. On the 24th, when nine miles west of Queenston, at a place called Beaver Dams, it was attacked by a force of British and Indians. After some skirmishing and marching, accompanied with slight loss, the assailants sent a flag to Col. Boerstler, and on the mere statement of the bearer that the British regular force was double the Americans, besides seven hundred Indians, that officer surrendered his whole command.

Chapin and his Erie county volunteers were sent to the head of Lake Ontario, (now Hamilton,) whence the colonel, two officers and twenty-six privates were ordered to Kingston, by water, under guard of a lieutenant and fifteen men. They were all in two boats; one containing the British lieutenant and thirteen men and the three American officers—the second filled with the other twenty-six prisoners, a British sergeant and one soldier. Before starting, the colonel managed to arrange with his men a signal for changing the programme. When about twenty miles out on Lake Ontario, Col. Chapin gave the signal and his men ran their boat alongside of the one he was in. The British lieutenant ordered them to drop back, and Chapin ordered them on board. The former attempted to draw his sword, when the colonel, a large, powerful man, seized him by the neck and flung him on his back. Two of the soldiers drew their bayonets, but he seized one in each hand, and at the same time his men swarmed into the boat and wrested their arms from the guard, who were unable, in their contracted quarters, to fire a shot or use a bayonet.

The victors then headed for Fort George, where, after rowing nearly all night, they arrived a little before daylight and turned over their late guard to the commandant as prisoners. It was a gallant little exploit, and effectually refutes the charge of cowardice which some have brought against Colonel Chapin.

The British men-of-war still commanded the lake, though Perry's fleet was fast preparing to dispute their supremacy. About the 15th of June the five vessels which had been fitted up in Scajaquada creek stole out of Black Rock, and joined Perry at Erie. While one of these ships lay at anchor in the Niagara, just before leaving, a boat which was crossing the river ran afoul of her cable and was upset, and Mr. Gamaliel St. John, his eldest son, and three soldiers who were with them, were drowned.

The Queen Charlotte and other British vessels this year, as last, hovered along the lake shore and occasionally sent a boat's crew ashore to depredate on the inhabitants of Hamburg and Evans. One day we read of their chasing a boat into the mouth of the Cattaraugus; at another time a boat's crew landed and plundered Ingersoll's tavern at the mouth of Eighteen-Mile creek.

Up to the present period, no Indians had been taken into the service of the United States. In the spring General Lewis invited the warriors of the Six Nations to come to his camp, and three or four hundred of them did come, under the lead of the veteran Farmer's Brother. On their arrival they were requested to take no part for the time, but to send a deputation to the Mohawks to induce them to withdraw from the British service, in which case the Senecas and their associates were also to return.

Many appeared disappointed on finding they were not to fight, but were merely to be used to keep others from fighting, though this was the policy that Red Jacket favored throughout. But the Mohawks and other British Indians showed no disposition to withdraw from the field, and as we have seen took a prominent part in the capture of Colonels Boerstler and Chapin.

In the early part of July, too, a skirmish took place near Fort George, in which an American lieutenant and ten men were captured, who were never heard of more, and were supposed to have been slain by the savages.

Then, at length, Gen. Boyd accepted the services of the warriors of the Six Nations. Those then enrolled numbered four hundred, and there were never over five hundred and fifty in the service.

It is difficult to say who was their leader. One account says it was Farmer's Brother, and another designates Henry O'Bail (the Young Cornplanter) as holding that position. Still another will have it that Young King was their principal war-chief, while Captain Pollard undoubtedly acted as such the next year, at the battle of Chippewa.

The truth seems to have been that the designation of generalissimo, like most Indian arrangements, was decidedly indefinite. There was a considerable number of undoubted war-chiefs, but no one who was unquestionably entitled to the principal command. Farmer's Brother was generally recognized, both by Indians and whites, as the greatest of the war-chiefs, and was allowed a kind of primacy among them, but he was very old, and I cannot gather that he held any definite rank above the rest. Leaders for active service seem to have been chosen from time to time, either by actual election or by general consent.

When they first turned out, a large body of them under Farmer's Brother camped in the woods just west of Buffalo, near the cabin of a Mr. Aigin, who lived half-way between Main street and the foot of Prospect Hill. His son, James Aigin, then a boy, who has furnished many reminiscences of those times to the Historical Society, says that one night several Indians came to his father's house and endeavored to force an entrance. There were two or three well-armed men, who held the intruders at bay. Presently they got on the roof and began to take it off. Aigin put his son out of the window, and bade him run and notify Farmer's Brother. The boy found the chieftain wrapped in sleep among his braves. He laid his hand on the old warrior, who bounded up like a youth of twenty. On being informed of the difficulty, he hastily proceeded to Aigin's cabin. No sooner did the marauders dimly see that gigantic form striding toward them amid the trees, than every men of them at once took to his heels. The chieftain assured the family of his protection, and for the remainder of the night he lay beside their cabin fire.

Not long after this it would seem that the Indians all returned home.

Meanwhile General Dearborn had withdrawn all the regular soldiers from Buffalo and Black Rock, leaving a large amount of public stores entirely undefended. Being advised, however, of

the danger of a raid, he ordered ten artillerists to be stationed at the block-house at Black Rock, and called for five hundred militia from the neighboring counties. Between a hundred and fifty and two hundred of these arrived at the threatened point early in July, and were stationed at the warehouses at Black Rock, being under the command of Major Parmenio Adams, of Genesee county. They had three pieces of field artillery, and near by was a battery of four heavy guns. Nearly a hundred recruits for the regular infantry and dragoons, on their way to Dearborn's headquarters, under the command of Captain Cummings, were ordered to stop at Buffalo; Judge Granger was directed to engage as many Seneca warriors as he could, and General Porter, who was then staying at his residence at Black Rock, was requested to take command of the whole.

The episode about to be narrated is one of the most exciting in the annals of this county. Except the burning of Buffalo, no other affair of so much importance took place within the limits of the county during the war of 1812; and it was, on the whole, decidedly creditable to the American arms; yet it is almost utterly unknown to our citizens, and is rarely mentioned in the annals of that era. Other events of greater magnitude distracted public attention at the time, and the burning of Buffalo, a few months later, obliterated from the minds of men all memory of less terrible transactions.

There is a brief mention of it in Ketchum's "Buffalo and the Senecas," but the only extended account I have seen is in Stone's "Life of Red Jacket." The following narrative is derived from a careful examination of that account, (which was furnished by Gen. Porter,) of the original description in the Buffalo Gazette, of a letter from Judge Granger, published by Ketchum, and of personal reminiscences furnished to the Historical Society by Benjamin Hodge, Daniel Brayman, James Aigin and Mrs. Jane Bidwell.

By the 10th of July Judge Granger had received such positive information of an immediate attack, accompanied by special threats against himself, that he invited some Indians to come to his house, north of the Scajaquada. Thirty-seven of them arrived at eleven o'clock that (Saturday) night, under the lead of Farmer's Brother. As they were not all armed, and as the judge

was confident that the enemy would be over the next day, he sent to the village and got a full supply of arms and ammunition for his braves that same night.

The British headquarters were at Lundy's Lane, close by the Falls, where their expedition was fitted out. The commander was Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop, a brave and enterprising officer, the same to whom Colonels Boerstler and Chapin had surrendered at Beaver Dams. He had under him a part of the 41st regiment of the British army, and a detachment of Canadian militia commanded by Col. Clark.

They took boat at Chippewa on the night of the 10th, and, after rowing against the current in the darkness several hours, landed just after daylight a mile below the mouth of the Scajaquada. Forming his men, Col. Bishop led them rapidly up the river bank. There was a single sentinel at the Scajaquada bridge, but on the sudden appearance of the red-coats he flung away his musket, dodged into the woods and took a bee-line, as near as he could calculate, for Williamsville. A few men were asleep in the block-house, but the British column swept silently by without disturbing them, and quickly approached the encampment of Major Adams. His men must have been aroused a little before the enemy reached them, for they all made their escape, but they attempted no resistance and fled without even spiking the cannon in their charge. A detachment of the invaders went to the house of Gen. Porter, who had barely time to escape, fleeing without his arms, and some say with only a single garment. At first he attempted to reach Major Adams' encampment, but finding this impossible he turned toward Buffalo.

Thus far the affair had been after the usual pattern of operations in the early part of that war, and highly discreditable to the Americans. The victors supposed all resistance at an end. Some of them were set to work burning the block-house and barracks, others spiked the heavy guns in the battery and took away the field-pieces, and others went through the village capturing and taking across the river four or five principal citizens, while the officers, so secure did they feel, ordered breakfast at General Porter's. At the same time considerable reinforcements of provincial militia crossed the river in boats, to share the fruits of the easy victory.

But a storm was gathering. When the militia first began its retreat a messenger was sent to Buffalo, on whose arrival Capt. Cummings mustered his recruits and marched toward the scene of action. On his way he met General Porter, who ordered him to proceed to a piece of open ground not far from the site of the reservoir, and await reinforcements.

Taking a horse, sword, and other equipments from one of Cummings' dragoons, the general galloped down to the village, where he found everything in confusion, the women and children in a state of terror, and the men in the streets with arms in their hands, but doubtful whether to fight or flee. Being assured that there was a chance of success, forty or fifty of them formed ranks under Captain Bull, the commander of the Buffalo volunteer company, and marched to join Cummings.

Of the retreating militia some had fled into the woods and never stopped till they reached home; but about a hundred had been kept together by Lieutenant Phineas Staunton, the adjutant of the battalion, a resolute young officer, who was allowed to assume entire command by his major. The supineness of the latter is excused by General Porter on the ground of ill health. Staunton and his men, who had retreated up the beach, left it and took post near the Buffalo road.

Meanwhile Major King, of the regular army, who was accidentally at Black Rock, on seeing the sudden retreat of the militia hurried through the woods to Judge Granger's, whence the alarm was speedily carried to the scattered inhabitants of "Buffalo Plains." Farmer's Brother at once gathered his warriors and made them a little speech, telling them that they must now go and fight the red-coats; that their country was invaded; that they had a common interest with the people of the United States, and that they must show their friendship for their American brethren by deeds, not words. The octogenarian chieftain then led his little band to join his friend Conashustah, (the Indian name of General Porter).

Volunteers, too, came hurrying to the village from the Plains and Cold Spring, until about thirty were gathered, who were placed under the command of Captain William Hull, of the militia. General Porter now felt able to cope with the enemy. Bringing together his forces, numbering but about three hundred

all told, at the open ground before mentioned, he made his dispositions for an attack. As the foe held a strong position at Major Adams' encampment, Porter determined to attack him on three sides at once, to prevent the destructive use of artillery on a column massed in front.

The regulars and Captain Bull's Buffalo volunteers formed the centre. The Genesee militia, under Staunton, were on the left, nearest the river, while Captain Hull's men were directed to cooperate with the Indians, who had gathered in the woods on the right front. Farmer's Brother prepared for action, and his braves followed; each dusky warrior stripping to the skin, all save his breech clout and a plaited cord around the waist, (called a maturnip,) which sustained his powder horn, tomahawk and knife, and which could be used to bind prisoners if any were taken. Then, grasping their rifles, the stalwart Senecas quickly ranged themselves in line, with their chiefs a few yards in front.

At eight o'clock the signal for attack was given. Just as the three detachments moved forward, however, Major King arrived on the ground and claimed the command of the regulars from Captain Cummings. A slight delay ensued ere the command was transferred, and then the major did not fully understand the general's orders. Consequently the central detachment was detained a few moments, and meanwhile the militia, gallantly led on by Staunton and ashamed of their recent flight, dashed forward against the enemy.

A fight of some fifteen or twenty minutes ensued, in which the militia stood up against the British regulars without flinching, though three of their men were killed and five wounded, no slight loss out of a hundred in so short a time. The right flank of the Americans came up, the Indians raised the war-whoop and opened fire, and it has often been found that the capacity of these painted warriors for inspiring fear is much greater than the actual injury they inflict. Col. Bishop, who had obtained a mount on this side, was severely though not fatally wounded, and fell from his horse. His men became demoralized, and when the regulars appeared in front the enemy fled toward the water's edge with great precipitation, before Major King's command had time to take part in the fight.

The whole American force then pressed forward together, the

Indians making the forest resound with savage yells. The chief, Young King, and another warrior were wounded. Part of the British wounded were carried off, but part were left on the field. A sergeant, shot in the leg, lay under the bank, near the present residence of L. F. Allen, on Niagara street. A Seneca warrior jumped down and stopped to load his rifle a short distance from him. The sergeant sat up and snapped his musket at him, but it missed fire. Without waiting to finish loading, the Indian sprang upon his enemy, snatched away his gun, and at one blow knocked out his brains, at the same time breaking the musket short off at the breech.

At the Black Rock landing the British rallied, but on the approach of the Americans, hastily retreated into some boats which they found there, leaving fifteen prisoners in the hands of their pursuers. Many were killed and wounded after entering the boats, but the chief loss fell on the last one. It contained sixty men and most of the officers, including Colonel Bishop, who, notwithstanding his wound, had insisted on remaining to the last. The whole American force came up to the bank and opened fire on this boat, inflicting terrible injury. Two or three Indians even sprang into the water, seized the boat by the gunwale and endeavored to direct it ashore, but were compelled to desist by the fire of their friends in the rear.

Captain Saunders, of the British Forty-first, was severely wounded at the water's edge and left a prisoner. Colonel Bishop was pierced with several bullets, receiving wounds of which he soon died, and several other officers were killed or wounded. Presently the men dropped their oars and made signals of surrender. The firing ceased and the boat dropped down the river, followed along the bank by some of the Americans, who ordered the occupants to come ashore, which they declared themselves willing to do, but so disabled they could not.

Meanwhile, however, our Indians had begun stripping the dead and prisoners. They seized on Captain Saunders' sword, belt and epaulets, and perhaps some of his garments. The men in the boat thought, or claimed they thought, that the warriors were tomahawking and scalping him. Either actually believing this or using it as an excuse, they would not come ashore in accordance with their surrender, but, after dropping down to

the head of Squaw Island, suddenly seized their oars and by desperate exertions got under its shelter, though not without again suffering severely from the bullets of the Americans. In fact, however, Captain Saunders, though badly wounded by balls, bore no mark of tomahawk or knife, and, after being carefully tended for several weeks at General Porter's residence, finally recovered and was for more than thirty years a British pensioner.

The enemy left eight killed and seven wounded on the field, besides a number carried into the boats and a still larger number hit after the embarkation. They were said at the time to have acknowledged a total loss in killed, wounded and prisoners of nearly a hundred. The Americans lost none but those already mentioned, who all, except the two Indians, belonged to that same body of militia that had fled so ingloriously in the early morning. They were in the front of the fray throughout, and gallantly retrieved their tarnished reputation. Their good conduct was doubtless due largely to the example of Adjutant Staunton, whom major and captains allowed to take full command, who also distinguished himself on several other occasions in the war of 1812, and whose soldierly qualities were transmitted to his son, Phineas Staunton, the gallant first lieutenant-colonel of the 100th New York volunteers in the war for the Union.

All the accounts speak in high terms of the conduct of the Seneca warriors. They fought well and were not especially savage. They stripped their dead enemies, however, of every rag of clothing, and young Aigin, who went upon the field after the fight, relates having seen the whole eight bodies lying together, thus stark and white, in the forest.

Although the numbers engaged in this affair were not large, it was a quite exciting conflict for Erie county, and is of importance as showing the value of one or two resolute officers in rallying and inspiriting a body of raw troops, utterly demoralized by less efficient leadership.

General Dearborn had resigned the command of the northern frontier just before this event, and a little after it General Wilkinson added another to the long list of occupants of that unfortunate position.

Colonel Chapin having returned, General Porter and he

gathered up another body of volunteers, and went down to Fort George, taking a hundred or so Indians with them. "Being," according to General Boyd's report, "very impatient to engage the enemy," that officer kindly got up an expedition to accommodate them. A plan was concerted to cut off one of the enemy's pickets on the morning of the 17th of August.

Chapin was sent out west from Fort George for the purpose, with about three hundred volunteers and Indians, supported by two hundred regulars under Major Cummings. Porter volunteered in the affair and probably commanded the whole, though the report does not definitely say so. A heavy rain retarded their progress, so the picket was not captured, but a fight ensued in which the volunteers and Indians captured sixteen prisoners, and killed a considerable number of the enemy who were left on the field; one account says seventy-five, but this is doubtful. The principal chiefs who took part in this affair were Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, Little Billy, Captain Pollard, Black Snake, Hank Johnson (the white man), Silver Heels, Captain Halftown, Major Henry O'Bail (Young Cornplanter), and Captain Cold (an Onondaga chief), who was wounded.

Chapin and his volunteers, and most of the Indians, continued to operate in the vicinity of Fort George until the seventh of September, when they returned to Buffalo.

A few days later came news of a battle which, though fought a hundred and fifty miles away, has always been contemplated with feelings of especial interest and sympathy by the people of Erie county, since it decided the supremacy of the great lake from which that county is named, whose waters wash its shores and whose commerce passes along its borders. I refer of course to "Perry's Victory." Glad were the hearts of our people and great were their rejoicings, when they learned that after a desperate contest the gallant Perry, with a force inferior both in men and guns, had captured or destroyed the whole British fleet. In Buffalo the ever-prominent Chapin fired a rousing salute, and at night every window in the village was a blaze of light.

Among those who took a prominent part in that victory was a young officer, a cousin of Perry, then a sailing-master in command of the Scorpion, afterwards a well-known and highly-

respected citizen of Buffalo, Commodore Stephen Champlin. From his ship were fired the first and the last shots in the battle of Lake Erie.

And here I will venture on a digression inspired by the contemplation of the dazzling victory won by that boyish New England commodore on the 10th of September, 1813. What subtle influence is it which makes the American sailor *always* a hero? The most devoted patriot cannot pretend but that our generals and soldiers have frequently failed in their duty, and their conduct has sometimes been positively disgraceful. We have had scores of able generals and hundreds of thousands of valiant soldiers, but we have had enough who were neither able nor valiant to give a decided check to our national egotism. The war of 1812, especially, shows numerous instances of folly, or cowardice, or both, on the part of our land-forces and their commanders, flagrant enough to make an American, even at this late day, overflow with anger and shame.

But the annals of the American navy are one long and brilliant record of heroism, with hardly a solitary blemish. Our sailors have been defeated, for victory is not always in mortal power to compass, but their defeats have been scarcely less glorious than their victories. Paul Jones compelling the surrender of a British man-of-war after his own decks had been swept almost clear of men; Preble triumphing over the pirates of the Mediterranean; Decatur, and Hull, and Stewart, and Bainbridge, bringing down the haughty flag of St. George on the Atlantic; Lawrence, defeated and dying, whispering with his latest breath, "Don't give up the ship;" Perry, passing in a fragile boat amid a storm of shot to a fresh vessel, and snatching victory from the grasp of defeat; McDonough annihilating the foe on Lake Champlain; Morris going down to a watery grave with the Cumberland; Worden matching his little Monitor against the mighty Merrimac; Winslow sinking the Alabama with his terrible broadsides; old Farragut at the mast-head dashing past the flaming forts of Mobile Bay; young Cushing, bravest of all the brave, blowing up the Albemarle and his own ship with his own hand; from first to last, from highest to lowest, from oldest to youngest, in victory or defeat, American admirals, commodores, captains, lieutenants, sailors, middies, cabin-

boys, with hardly a solitary exception, have ever borne themselves so as to fill their countrymen with glowing enthusiasm, and compel the admiration of their bitterest foes.

Immediately succeeding Perry's victory came that of Harrison over Proctor, and the death of Tecumseh. It being supposed that the upper peninsula was pretty well cleared of foes, Gen. Wilkinson's forces were nearly all withdrawn to the lower end of Lake Ontario.

Just before he left, a correspondence took place, which shows how little comprehension even the most public-spirited men had of the needs of the military service. Porter, Chapin and Col. Joseph McClure wrote to Wilkinson from Black Rock, stating that in expectation of a decisive movement they had repaired to Fort George, with five hundred men—militia, volunteers and Indians. "Most of us," said the writers, "remained there twelve or fourteen days, but our hopes not being realized, the men continually dispersed and went home."

The three gentlemen then offered to raise a thousand or twelve hundred men, either to aid Wilkinson in a sally from Fort George, or, on being furnished with a battery of artillery, "to invade the enemy's country," with a view to dispersing his forces before Wilkinson should withdraw.

The most disastrous experience had not yet convinced our ablest men of the impossibility of making an effective aggressive movement with a crowd of undisciplined, ungoverned men, who would leave camp if they could not have a fight in fourteen days. Wilkinson forwarded the proposition to the Secretary of War, who did not accept it.

The force left behind by Wilkinson was under the command of Gen. George McClure, of Steuben county, a brigadier-general of the New York militia, who made his headquarters at Fort George, and immediately issued several flaming proclamations.

On the 6th of October, Col. Chapin, with one of those heterogeneous collections of men so common at that time, had an all-day skirmish with some British outposts, near Fort George. He claimed to have killed eighteen of the enemy, while but three of his own men were slain. Doubtful. He had with him "Crosby's and Sackrider's companies" of militia, a few other men and some Indians.

On the 24th of October, Harrison and Perry, with their victorious army and fleet, came down the lake to Buffalo. The little town was aglow to do honor to the heroes, and on the 25th a dinner was given to the two commanders at "Pomeroy's Eagle," which had been refitted and reopened a short time before. At the head of the committee of arrangements, composed of the principal citizens, was the ubiquitous Chapin. At the dinner Porter presided, with Chapin, Townsend and Trowbridge, as vice-presidents. The next day Harrison and his army crossed the river and went down to Fort George, and thence in a short time to Sacket's Harbor.

Gen. McClure was thus left with about a thousand militia, two hundred and fifty Indians, and sixty regulars. The terms of the militia were fast expiring, and they would not stay a day beyond them. Another draft was accordingly ordered, about the middle of November, of six hundred men from Hopkins' brigade, under Lt.-Col. Warren. These marched to Ft. George and remained nearly a month.

On the 7th of December, Gen. McClure sent out an expedition along the south shore of Lake Ontario. Lt.-Col. Chapin was in command of the advance. He afterwards declared that McClure had not only left him unsupported, but had expressed his desire that Chapin should be captured. A very bitter feeling had certainly grown up between them, and it is evident that Chapin had a peculiar faculty for getting into trouble. He issued as many statements as any of the generals, and denounced without stint those whom he did not admire.

When the term of Warren's regiment of militia was about to expire, McClure determined to abandon Fort George. In this he was unquestionably justifiable, as his remaining force would have been entirely inadequate to defend it. But he at the same time took a step cruel in itself, and fraught with woe to the American frontier. He ordered the burning of the flourishing village of Newark, situated close to the fort, and containing about a hundred and fifty houses. The inhabitants were turned out into the snow, and the torch applied to every building in the place.

McClure claimed that he acted under orders from the Secretary of War, but he produced no such orders, and it appears that

there were none, except that the general was authorized to burn Newark if necessary to defend the fort. As he had already decided to abandon the fort, of course these orders did not apply. Chapin and the general had another bitter quarrel, the former roundly denouncing the destruction of the village. Soon after, Chapin resigned his command.

McClure moved the remnant of his force across the river, closely pressed by the enraged British. Leaving Fort Niagara defended by a hundred and fifty regulars, he called two hundred others from Canandaigua to Buffalo.

On the morning of December 19th, Fort Niagara was surprised and captured by a small British force, through the criminal negligence of its commander, who was at his residence four miles away. McClure was not to blame for the transaction, but nevertheless he, more than any other one man, was responsible for the burning of Buffalo, and the devastation of the whole frontier. He needlessly destroyed Newark, which of course provoked retaliation, and then ran away. As soon as Niagara was captured he took his two hundred regulars and retreated to Batavia, against the earnest protest of the citizens of Buffalo. Had they remained as a nucleus for the gathering militia, the result might have been entirely different.

Affidavits were afterwards published, showing that McClure said in his anger that he hoped Buffalo would be burned; that he would remain and defend it provided the citizens would catch "that damned rascal, Chapin," and deliver him bound into his (McClure's) hands. Several of his staff officers, also, were proven to have indulged in similar disgraceful language in his presence, unrebuked; expressing their entire willingness that the village should be burned. In a properly disciplined army General McClure would have been shot.

Before leaving Buffalo McClure called out the men of Genesee, Niagara and Chautauqua counties *en masse*, and on arriving at Batavia, on the 22d of December, he turned over the command to Major General Hall, the commander of this division of militia. That officer, who manifested no lack of zeal, sent forward all the troops he could raise, and proceeded to Buffalo himself on the 25th, leaving McClure to organize and forward reinforcements. Hall, however, assumed no command

over the regulars, and there seems to have been a bitterness of feeling on the part of their officers which would, perhaps, in the demoralized state of affairs, have made it impracticable for him to do so.

The events of the following week form so important a portion of the history of Erie county that they will be made the subject of a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XXV.

SWORD AND FIRE.

Number of Troops.—The Enemy's Approach.—Movements in Defense.—Chapin's Wrath.—Attack and Repulse.—Another with same Result.—Blakeslie's Advance.—Battle of Black Rock.—The Retreat.—The Flight.—Wilkeson and Walden.—Universal Confusion.—The Chapin Girls.—A Side-saddle Express. The Pratts' Silver.—"The Indians! the Indians!"—Job Hoysington.—Alfred Hodge.—William Hodge.—Attempt at Defense.—Chapin's Negotiation.—Mrs. St. John.—"Prisoners to the Squaws."—A Guard Obtained.—The Village in Flames.—Mrs. Dr. Johnson's Sleigh-load.—Murder of Mrs. Lovejoy.—The Enemy Retire.—The Slain.—Israel Reed.—Calvin Cary.—McClure to Blame.—The Flight in the Country.—The Buffalo Road.—The Big Tree Road.—Successive Vacancies.—Exaggerated Reports.—Return of the British.—More Burning.—Hodge's Tavern.—Keep and Tottman.—The Scene at Reese's.—Rebuilding.—Harris Hill.—Relief.

On the 27th of December General Hall reviewed the forces at Buffalo and Black Rock, which were thus described in his report:

At Buffalo there were a hundred and twenty-nine mounted volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Seymour Broughton, of Ontario county; four hundred and thirty-three Ontario county volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Blakeslie; a hundred and thirty-six "Buffalo militia" under Lieutenant-Colonel Chapin; ninety-seven Canadian volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Mallory; and three hundred and eighty-two Genesee county militia under Major Adams.

At Black Rock, under Brigadier-General Hopkins, were three hundred and eighty-two effective men in the corps of Lieutenant-Colonels Warren and Churchill; thirty-seven mounted men under Captain Ransom; eighty-three Indians under "Lieutenant-Colonel Granger," and one piece of field artillery, with twenty-five men, under Lieutenant Seeley. The aggregate force at both places on the 27th, according to the report, was seventeen hundred and eleven. Colonel Churchill, above mentioned, commanded a detachment from Genesee county. The remainder of the main body at Black Rock, under Colonel Warren, was

composed of his own regiment from the south towns of Erie county, and Major Hill's detachment from Clarence, still temporarily consolidated with it. The Buffalo militia, which properly belonged in Hill's regiment, seem to have acted independently under Chapin, at least around Buffalo.

About this time, a body of the enemy came up the river from Fort Niagara as far as Tonawanda, or farther, burning everything along the river shore. At Tonawanda they burned the guard house, and what few dwellings there were in the vicinity with one exception. In that a Mrs. Francis was sick up stairs, and remained while every one else fled to the woods. Three separate companies came along and applied the torch, and three times the woman crawled out of bed and extinguished the flames.

On the 27th Gen. Hall received information which made him certain that the enemy intended to cross. The 28th passed quietly away. On the 29th there arrived a regiment of Chautauqua county militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel McMahan, numbering about three hundred men, bringing the aggregate force to a trifle over two thousand.

Besides Seeley's field-piece there were seven other cannon at the two villages, but none of them mounted on carriages. Several of them were in a battery at the top of the hill overlooking Black Rock, and with them was Major Dudley, with a part of Warren's regiment. The rest, with Churchill's detachment, were in the village of Black Rock. As near as I can estimate from the official report and Gen. Warren's statement, Dudley had about a hundred men, Warren a hundred and fifty, and Churchill also a hundred and fifty.

Capt. John G. Camp was quartermaster-general of the whole force.

Patrols were constantly kept out. The excitement among the people was of course intense, yet few believed that an attack would be successful, looking on the two thousand defenders now assembled, and remembering that three hundred men had driven back a considerable body of assailants the summer before.

Near midnight of the 29th a detachment of the enemy landed a little below Scajaquada creek. Immediately afterwards a horse-patrol discovered them, was fired on, and retreated. The news was at once carried to Colonels Warren and Churchill, at Black

Rock, and then to Gen. Hall, at Buffalo. The latter ordered out his men, but, fearing that the enemy's movement was a feint, and that he would land in force above Buffalo and march down, he did not at first send any considerable force down the river.

Meanwhile, Gen. Hopkins being absent in Clarence on business, the two colonels at Black Rock turned out their men and consulted as to what should be done. Though Warren was the senior in rank he seems not to have been formally invested with the command at Black Rock, another evidence of the loose way in which everything was done. However, the two officers agreed that they would endeavor to reach Scajaquada creek before the invaders, and hold it against them.

Warren's regiment being ready first, he set out in advance. After marching about half-way he sent two scouts ahead. In a short time he heard firing at the creek, and as they did not return he naturally concluded they were killed or taken. In fact, both were taken. Presently Capt. Millard, (afterwards Gen. Millard, of Lockport,) aide to Gen. Hall, galloped past, also in search of information. He, too, was saluted with a shower of bullets at the bridge, and captured.

Warren halted till Churchill came up, when they agreed that, as the enemy had evidently got possession of the Scajaquada bridge, and of what was called the "Sailors' Battery," situated there, it would be impracticable to dislodge him in the darkness. They determined to take position at a small run, a little way below the village of Black Rock, and there oppose the further advance of the British. Thither they accordingly returned, placed their single piece of artillery in the road, with a regiment on each side, and awaited developments.

The enemy did not advance, but in the course of an hour or so Colonel Chapin arrived with a body of mounted men. His force is not described as mounted in Hall's report, but he must have obtained horses for at least a part of Captain Bull's company. General Warren is positive that the force with which Chapin came to Black Rock was mounted, and Bull was certainly present in the reconnoissance which followed.

The irascible doctor furiously damned the two colonels and their men for not having driven away the British, and delivered General Hall's order that they should immediately make an at-

tack. They replied with equal anger, and declared themselves as ready as he to meet the British. Chapin then led the way with his mounted men, in "column of twos;" Warren followed with his battalion, and then Churchill with his.

The men under Chapin and Bull advanced nearly to Scajaquada creek, without receiving any warning of the whereabouts of the enemy. All was silent as death. Suddenly from the darkness flashed a volley of musketry, almost in the faces of the head of the column. Undisciplined cavalry are notoriously the poorest of all troops, and Chapin's men probably acted precisely as any other mounted militia would have done, if led in column, in the darkness, against an unknown force of hostile infantry. They instantly broke and fled, rushing back through the ranks of Warren's footmen, who became utterly demoralized by the onslaught without receiving a shot. As the horsemen stampeded through them, they broke up, some scattering into the woods and some retreating toward Buffalo. Finding himself without men, Warren retired to the main battery, to endeavor to rally some of the fugitives. Churchill, with at least a part of his men, remained below the village.

When General Hall received news of this failure, he ordered Major Adams with his Genesee militia, and Chapin with such force as he could rally, to march against the enemy. This movement was equally futile; in fact it is doubtful if the force got within reach of the enemy's guns.

The general then ordered Colonel Blakeslie, with his Ontario county militia, to advance to the attack. This sending of successive small detachments to assail an unknown force in the darkness, instead of concentrating his forces in some good defensive position, shows clearly enough that General Hall had little idea of the proper course to be taken, but he seems to have labored zealously according to the best light he had.

On the departure of Blakeslie, Hall gathered his remaining forces, of which McMahan's Chautauqua regiment constituted the main part, and took the hill road (Niagara street) for Black Rock. As he approached that village the day began to dawn, and he discovered the enemy's boats crossing the river in the direction of General Porter's house. A smaller number were crossing farther up, opposite the main battery.

Blakeslie's command was ordered to meet the approaching force at the water's edge. That force consisted of the Royal Scots under Colonel Gordon, and was estimated at four hundred men. The invasion was under the general superintendence of Lieutenant-General Drummond, but the troops were under the immediate command of Major-General Riall. The artillery in battery fired on them as they advanced, and Blakeslie's men opened fire when they landed. They returned it, and a battery on the other side sent shells and balls over their heads among the Americans.

For half an hour the forest and riverside reëchoed with the thunder of artillery and ceaseless rattle of small arms. All accounts agree that Blakeslie's men did the most of the fighting, and sustained the attack of the Royal Scots with considerable firmness. Had all the regiments been kept together and met the enemy at his landing, the result might have been far different.

A portion of the Chautauqua county regiment took part in the fight, and Colonel Warren, having rallied a part of his command at the battery, moved them down to the left of Blakeslie's regiment. Major Dudley was killed during the combat, and probably at this point. Besides the regiments just named, there were squads and single individuals in the fight from all the different organizations. Regiments and companies had to a great extent dissolved, and the men who had not run away fought "on their own hook."

Meanwhile the hostile force at Scajaquada creek, consisting of regulars and Indians, moved up the river, easily dispersing Churchill's meagre force, and marched against Blakeslie's right. It is not believed there were then over six hundred men in our ranks, and these, thus assailed on two sides, were entirely unable to maintain their ground. Large numbers were already scattering through the woods toward home, when Gen. Hall ordered a retreat, hoping to make another stand at the edge of Buffalo.

This, as might be supposed, was utterly hopeless; once the men got to running, there were few that thought of anything else. In a few moments all were in utter rout. A part hurried toward Buffalo, others rushed along the "Guide-board road" (North street) to Hodge's tavern, and thence took the Williamsville road, while many fled through the woods without

regard to roads of any kind. If the officers made any attempt to rally their men, they were entirely unsuccessful, and there was nothing for them to do but join in the general retreat.

A few men kept fighting till the last, but they too were soon obliged to retire. The first meeting of two gentlemen, both subsequently presiding judges of the Erie County Common Pleas, was at the battle of Black Rock. Samuel Wilkeson, then in the ranks of the Chautauqua county regiment, was loading and discharging his musket as rapidly as possible, when he noticed a small, quiet man near by, who, he said, was firing faster than he was. Presently the stranger looked around and exclaimed: "Why, we are all alone!" Wilkeson also cast his eyes about him, and sure enough all but a very few were rapidly retreating. The person whose acquaintance he thus made was Ebenezer Walden.

Meanwhile, in Buffalo the women and children remained in a feeling of comparative security; believing that the foe would surely be beaten back, as he had been before. Many, however, had packed up their scanty stores in preparation for a flight if necessary, and all had been anxiously listening to the fateful sounds of battle. All the while scattering fugitives were constantly rushing through the village, and striking out for Williamsville, Willink or Hamburg.

Then the noise of battle ceased, and the scattering runaways increased to a crowd. The Buffalonians of Hull's and Bull's companies came hurrying up to take care of their families. They declared that the Americans were whipped, that the British were marching on the town, and most terrible of all that the Indians, the *Indians*, the INDIANS were coming.

Then all was confusion and dismay. Teams were at a premium. Horses, oxen, sleighs, sleds, wagons, carts—nearly everything that had feet, wheels or runners—were pressed into service. Some loaded up furniture, some contented themselves with saving their scanty store of silver ware and similar valuables; most took care to secure some provisions and bedding, threw them promiscuously into whatever vehicle they could obtain, and started. Children were half smothered with feather beds, babies alternated with loaves of bread. Many, who neither had nor could obtain teams, set forth on foot. Men, women and children

by the score were seen hastening through the light snow and half frozen mud, in the bitter morning air, up Main street or out Seneca, or toward "Pratt's Ferry."

Dr. Chapin, on leaving for the field in the morning, told his two girls, one eleven and the other nine years old, that they must take care of themselves, directing them to go to his farm in Hamburg, ten miles distant. Their only protector was Hiram Pratt, then a member of the doctor's family and but thirteen years old. The girls and their young knight set out through the snow, and on passing the Pratt homestead Hiram persuaded his sister Mary, eleven years old, to accompany them. At Smoke's creek they were overtaken by a wagon containing the Pratt family, and Mary was taken on board. Nothing, however, could induce Hiram or the Chapin girls to accept of such assistance. They had started to do the heroic, and were bound to go through with it. And go through with it they did, making the whole ten miles on foot through the snow; an amazing feat for two girls of that age.

Capt. Hull, as has been mentioned, was a silversmith. His family gathered his small stock into a pillow case, and looked about for some means of transportation. Presently came a man on horseback, astride a side-saddle. He readily consented to take charge of their valuables, and fastened the pillow-case to the horn of his saddle. He rode off, and they saw no more of man, side-saddle nor spoons.

The family of Samuel Pratt, Jr., were equally unfortunate with their silver. They had packed it up ready to carry away, but when they got into the wagon they forgot it. After going a little way, a girl whom Mrs. P. was bringing up, a kind of white Topsy, mentioned the loss and proposed to go back after it. This Mrs. Pratt forbade, but in a short time the girl slid quietly out of the hind end of the wagon and scampered back. She was never heard of by them again. Whether she confiscated the silver and emigrated to Canada with the returning invaders, or fell beneath the tomahawk of the savage and perished in some burning building, none ever knew.

Confusion was every moment worse confounded. "The Indians, the Indians!" was on every tongue. A crowd of teams and footmen—and footwomen too—were hurrying up Main

street, when suddenly the head of the column stopped and surged back on the rear.

"The Indians" was the cry from the front; "they are coming up the Guide-board road; they are out at Hodge's." Back down Main street rolled the tide. Horses were urged to their utmost speed; people on foot did their best to keep up, and even the oxen, under the persistent application of the lash, broke into an unwilling gallop, stumbling along, shaking their horns and wondering what strange frenzy had seized upon the people.

Turning up Seneca street the crowd sped onward, some going straight to the Indian village, and thence across the reservation to Willink, others making for Pratt's ferry, and thence up the beach to Hamburg. The ferryman, James Johnson, then a young man of nineteen, now a venerable citizen of East Hamburg, set several loads across, and then began to think it was time to leave, himself. He was a Vermonter, only a few weeks in this part of the country, and found his experience extremely discouraging.

There was good reason for the sudden retreat of the Main street fugitives. While the main body of the enemy marched down Niagara street, the Indians on the left flank pressed up the "Guide-board road." Here it was that Job Hoysington, a resolute volunteer, said to his comrades, with whom he was retreating, that he would have one more shot at the red-skins, and in spite of remonstrance waited for that purpose. He doubtless got a shot at them, for, when the snow went off in the spring, his rifle was found empty by his side; but they got a shot at him, too, as was testified by a bullet through his brain, the work of which was completed by the tomahawk and scalping knife. His wife waited long for her husband's return, at their residence at the corner of Main and Utica streets, and finally set out on foot, with her children. She was soon overtaken by two cavalrymen, who took two of the little ones on their horses. For a long time she did not hear of them, but at length discovered them, one in Clarence and one in Genesee county.

It was on the Guide-board road, too, that Alfred Hodge, fleeing from the pursuing savages, and finding himself unable to outstrip them, jumped over the fence, where a turn in the road

among the thick bushes hid him for a moment from their view, near the crossing of Delaware street, and flung himself down behind a log, across which he laid his cocked musket, determined to sell his life as dearly as possible, if discovered. The Indians came up, and two of them stood in the road but a short distance from him, looking in every direction for the fugitive, but luckily the bushes and the log secured him from their eyes. His scalp must have felt somewhat loose at that time. At one time they stood in range, so he thought that he could disable them both at one shot, but before he could take aim they changed their position.

These and other Indians in the vicinity fired several shots at the crowd of fugitives rushing up Main street, and are known to have wounded one if not more at that time. It was doubtless these shots that sent the frightened throng down Main street at double speed. But the fugitives exaggerated a little in saying that the savages had reached "Hodge's," for they soon fell back and closed in on the main body, giving Mr. Alfred Hodge a chance to hurry forward to his residence.

William Hodge, Sr., brother of Alfred, and proprietor of the "brick tavern on the hill," had rejected the idea that the Americans would be defeated, till the last moment, but when he saw the crowds of militiamen hurrying past he began to think it was time for him to move, and directed his hired man to hitch up the oxen, his only team, while he made some hasty arrangements in the house. He waited and waited, but no team appeared. The man had concluded that an ox-express was too slow for him, had put his own legs into rapid requisition, and was never heard of more.

Unwilling to keep his family longer, Mr. H. persuaded the driver of an army baggage-wagon to halt a few minutes, flung in some bedding and provisions, lifted in his family and sent them forward. Then, determined to save all he could, he yoked up his cattle, piled into the cart as much household stuff as it would hold, and followed at a slower pace. It is probable that none of the enemy went that far up Main street that day, for when Mr. Hodge returned, the next day, not even the liquor in the cellar was disturbed. As he started his oxen up Main street the smoke was already rising from the burning village.

For, meanwhile, events had come crowding thick and fast in the lower part of the town. As the enemy approached, some twenty or thirty men, apparently without any organization, manned an old twelve-pounder mounted on a pair of truck-wheels, at the junction of Main and Niagara streets. Soon the foe was seen emerging from the forest, on the latter street, less than a quarter of a mile away—a long column of disciplined soldiers, marching shoulder to shoulder, the rising sun bathing them in its golden light and tipping their bayonets with fire.

Colonel Chapin by general consent exercised whatever authority any one could exercise, which was very little. Two or three shots were fired from the old twelve-pounder, and then it was dismounted. Chapin then went forward with a white handkerchief tied to his cane, as a flag of truce, asked a halt, which was granted, and began a parley. It was probably about this time that the Indians were called in from the Guide-board road. One account has it that Chapin succeeded in arranging some kind of a capitulation; but this must be rejected, for, in a statement published by himself shortly after, he only speaks of "attempting a negotiation," claiming that while this was going on the people had a chance to escape; which was probably true.

Just about the time the cannon was dismounted some of our retreating soldiers had reached Pomeroy's stand, at the corner of Main and Seneca streets. Half famished after the fatigues of the night, they besought Pomeroy for something to eat. He told them there was plenty of bread in the kitchen and they rushed in, provided themselves, and pursued their retreat, each with a piece of bread in one hand and his musket in the other.

Presently they heard a cry from those ahead, "Run, boys, run!" Looking northward they saw a long line of Indians, with red bands on their heads, coming in single file at a rapid "jog-trot" down Washington street. It is needless to say that the injunction, "Run, boys," was strictly obeyed. The warriors, however, never swerved to the right nor the left, but kept on down to the Little Buffalo. Doubtless they had orders to surround the town.

A few citizens remained to try to save their property; among them Messrs. Walden, Pomeroy, Cook and Kaene. But their

success was less than that of one woman. Nearly opposite the site of the Tifft House stood the new hotel built by Gamaliel St. John, whose death by drowning, a few months before, has been narrated. The widow had leased the hotel, though it was not yet occupied by the lessee, and had moved into a small house just north of it, near the corner of Main and Mohawk streets, also belonging to her husband's estate. Directly opposite was the residence of Asaph S. Bemis, who had married one of Mrs. St. John's daughters, who still survives, and from whom much of this sketch is derived.

Close by Mr. Bemis' was the house occupied by Joshua Lovejoy. Mr. Lovejoy was absent. On the approach of the enemy Mrs L. sent her young son, the late Henry Lovejoy, away across the fields to the woods, but remained at home herself, apparently reckless as to what might happen.

Mrs. St. John, a very resolute woman, had been unwilling to believe the enemy would reach town, and had made no preparation for leaving. Mr. Bemis, who had been sick, determined to take his wife out of the way, and hitched up his team for that purpose. His mother-in-law requested him to take her younger children, six in number, with him, while she and her two oldest daughters remained to pack up her things. He did so, the arrangement being that he should take them out a mile or two, and return for the three women and the trunks. But before this arrangement could be carried out the enemy were in town.

The Indians came to Main street first, a considerable time before the troops, which were drawn up near the corner of Morgan, Mohawk and Niagara streets, where Samuel Edsall had his tannery. The savages had apparently full license to do what they pleased in the way of plundering, though some British officers went ahead and had the casks of liquor stove in, to prevent their red allies from getting entirely beyond control.

Eight or ten Indians came yelling directly toward Mrs. St. John's house. She waved her table cloth as a flag of truce, but they burst in, and immediately began ransacking the trunks, which stood ready packed for removal. There were four squaws in the company, and they, almost the first thing, possessed themselves of the looking-glass, and stood grinning and jabbering at the red faces reflected there, with childish delight. Presently

the ladies noticed that there was one Indian who took no part in the plundering, and they soon discovered that he could talk a little English.

"What will be done with us?" they anxiously inquired.

"We no hurt you," he replied. "You be prisoner to the squaws. Perhaps they take you to the colonel."

"Yes, yes," exclaimed the ladies, "take us to the colonel."

He spoke to the squaws, and they set forth with their "prisoners" down Mohawk to the corner of Niagara, where the troops were drawn up, and where the ladies were taken before a British officer, probably Col. Elliott, the commander of the Indians. Mrs. St. John told him her condition—a widow, her husband and eldest son taken from her by a sad calamity, a large family of small children dependent upon her—and implored his protection.

"Well," said the colonel, "what can I do for you; shall I take you to Canada?"

"No, indeed," replied Mrs. S., "but save my house; don't let it be burned or plundered."

After a moment's hesitation he assented, and ordered two soldiers of the Royal Scots regiment to accompany the ladies home, and see that no farther harm was done. They did so, ordered the Indians away, and remained on guard until the British left in the afternoon.

Soon after their return they saw Mrs. Lovejoy contending with an Indian about a shawl, he pulling at one end and she at the other. One of the St. John girls ran out into the road, calling to her for heaven's sake to let the Indian have it, and come over to their house where they had a guard. Mrs. L. rejected the offer, and continued the altercation with the savage.

Presently flames burst forth from the houses in the main part of the village, near the corner of Main and Seneca streets. A lieutenant with a squad of men went from house to house, applying the torch.

Dr. Johnson being absent, engaged in his duties as surgeon, Mrs. Johnson waited until her house was set on fire before she attempted to flee. She had a horse and sleigh but no wagon, and there was little sleighing. She harnessed the horse to the sleigh, put in the latter a feather bed, a looking-glass, and her infant daughter Mary, (now Mrs. Dr. Lord,) and set out for Wil-

liamsville, leading the horse. About this time, near ten o'clock, Lieutenant Riddle, of the United States regular army, with some forty convalescents from the Williamsville hospital, and a six-pounder gun, came marching down Main street to drive out the enemy! Mr. Walden went to meet him, convinced him of the hopelessness of such a course, and persuaded him to retire rather than needlessly exasperate the foe and his savage allies.

A little later a regiment in brilliant uniform came at a rapid gait up Mohawk street, and wheeled down Main.

"Ah!" exclaimed one of the guard at Mrs. St. John's, proudly, "see our Royal Scots."

But the ladies, though they could not but notice the stalwart forms and splendid marching order of the soldiers, could not sympathize with the pride of their comrade. A little later they were all attracted to the windows by another altercation across the road. The same or another band of Indians were again endeavoring to plunder Mrs. Lovejoy's house, and she was determined to resist them. They saw her standing in the doorway barring the ingress of an angry savage. One account is that she had an axe, but this is not certain. Suddenly there was the flash of a knife, and, pierced to the heart, the woman fell on the threshold she had defended. She was dragged into the yard, and lay there for hours, her blood crimsoning the snow, and her long black hair trailing on the ground, for in this instance the savages forebore to scalp their victim.

Meanwhile the burning went on. The flames rapidly devoured the frail, wooden tenements of which the embryo city was then chiefly composed. Dr. Chapin's and Judge Walden's houses were spared on that day, and the burners respected the little dwelling before which lay the corpse of Mrs. Lovejoy. Both Chapin and Walden, however, were taken prisoners, and the former was detained in Canada over a year. Mr. Walden, who was less noted, managed to escape by quietly walking away from his captors, as if nothing was the matter, and still remained about the village.

The large hotel of Mrs. St. John was set on fire by a squad of men, but, when they retired, the girls carried buckets of water and extinguished the flames.

By three o'clock in the afternoon all of the lately flourishing

village of Buffalo, save some six or eight structures, was smouldering in ashes. What few houses there were at Black Rock were likewise destroyed, and the enemy then retired across the river. After they left, Mr. Walden and the St. John girls carried Mrs. Lovejoy's corpse back into her house, and laid it on the bed.

The foe took with them about ninety prisoners, of whom eleven were wounded. Forty of the ninety were from Blakeslie's regiment. Besides these, a considerable number of American wounded were able to escape—probably fifty or sixty.

Forty or fifty were killed. Most of these lay on the field of battle, but some were scattered through the upper part of the village. They were stripped of their clothing, and lay all ghastly and white on the snow. On most of them the tomahawk and scalping-knife had supplemented the work of the bullet.

Among the slain the officer of highest rank was Lieut.-Col. Boughton, of Avon. In Erie county, reckoning according to the present division of towns, the killed were Job Hoysington, John Roop, Samuel Holmes, John Trisket, James Nesbit, Robert Franklin (colored), and Mr. Myers, of Buffalo; Robert Hilland, Adam Lawfer, of Black Rock; Jacob Vantine, Jr., of Clarence; Moses Fenno, of Alden; Israel Reed, of Aurora; Newman Baker, Parley Moffat and Wm. Cheeseman, of Hamburg and East Hamburg; Major Wm. C. Dudley, and probably Peter Hoffman, of Evans; and Calvin Cary, of Boston.

Moses Fenno was the earliest pioneer of Alden. Israel Reed was a middle-aged man, afflicted with asthma. He was on guard duty when the alarm sounded, but persuaded another to take his place, went forward to the fight and remained to the last. He then retreated, in company with the late Col. Emory, of Aurora. Pursued by the Indians, his asthmatic difficulty retarded his flight. For awhile Emory accommodated his pace to that of his comrade, but at length Reed declared he could go no further, sat down on a log and bade Emory go on. The latter did so. Reed was afterwards found where Emory left him, lying beside the log, his loaded musket by his side, showing that he had made no resistance, but with a bullet through his breast, his skull cloven by the relentless tomahawk, and his scalp removed by the vengeful knife.

Calvin Cary, the oldest son of the pioneer, Deacon Richard Cary, though only twenty-one years of age, was a man of gigantic stature and herculean strength, weighing nearly three hundred pounds. Pursued by three Indians, he shot one dead, killed another with his clubbed musket, but was shot, tomahawked and scalped by the third. His broken musket, which was found by his side and testified to his valor, is still preserved by his kindred.

All the heavy guns of course fell into the hands of the enemy, as well as a considerable quantity of public stores. A few small vessels, lying near Black Rock, were also captured.

The force by which all this injury was accomplished, according to the British official report, consisted of about a thousand men, detached from the Royal Scots regiment, the Eighth (or King's) regiment, the Forty-first, the Eighty-ninth, and the One Hundredth, besides from one to two hundred Indians. The enemy suffered a loss of about thirty men killed and sixty wounded. Only two of his officers were wounded, and none killed.

That a thousand veteran soldiers should whip two thousand raw militia is not really very strange, yet there have been times when militia, acting on the defensive, have done much better than that. The repulse of three or four hundred invaders the previous summer, by a force of militia and recruits hardly their equal in number, shows what may be done under favorable circumstances and resolute leadership.

General Hall, on reaching Williamsville, rallied two or three hundred of the fugitives, and collected reinforcements as rapidly as possible. There was, however, no further conflict with the enemy. Throughout this dismal epoch, the general seems to have acted with all possible devotion and energy, and to have failed only through the defection of his men and his own ignorance of the military art. He did the best that in him lay.

Gen. McClure, on the other hand, did the worst that in him lay, and when he retired to his home was justly followed by the hatred and contempt of thousands. The destruction of the Niagara frontier is chargeable chiefly to the cruelty and cowardice of George McClure.

The news of the disaster fled fast and far. The chief avenue

of escape was up the Main street road to Williamsville and Batavia. Next to that was the road up the beach to Hamburg. This was still the usual route, for teams, to all that part of the county south of the Buffalo reservation.

On this occasion, however, many went on foot or horseback to the Indian village, and thence through the woods to the Big Tree road.

During all that day (the 30th) the road through Williamsville and Clarence was crowded with a hurrying and heterogeneous multitude—bands of militiamen, families in sleighs, women driving ox-sleds, men in wagons, cavalrymen on horseback, women on foot, bearing infants in their arms and attended by crying children—all animated by a single thought, to escape from the foe, and especially from the dreaded Indians.

On the Big Tree road the scene was still more diversified, for in addition to the mixed multitude which poured along the northern route, was the whole body of Indians from the Buffalo reservation. The author of the history of the Holland Purchase, then a youth residing in Sheldon, Wyoming county, gives a vivid picture of the scene from personal recollection.

"An ox-sled would come along bearing wounded soldiers, whose companions had perhaps pressed the slow team into their service; another with the family of a settler, a few household goods that had been hustled upon it, and one, two or three wearied females from Buffalo, who had begged the privilege of a ride and the rest that it afforded; then a remnant of some dispersed corps of militia, hugging as booty, as spoils of the vanquished, the arms they had neglected to use; then squads and families of Indians, on foot and on ponies, the squaw with her papoose upon her back, and a bevy of juvenile Senecas in her train; and all this is but a stinted programme of the scene that was presented. Bread, meats and drinks soon vanished from the log taverns on the routes, and fleeing settlers divided their scanty stores with the almost famished that came from the frontiers."

Numerous incidents, pathetic, tragic, and sometimes comic, occurred in this universal hegira. The news flew, apparently on the wings of the wind, and as it flew people hitched up their horse or ox teams and fled eastward, long before all the fugitives from the western part of the county had arrived. Again and again it happened that a party of tired travelers from Buffalo

or vicinity would at nightfall find a deserted house, with plenty of furniture and provisions, somewhere in Aurora, or Wales, or Newstead, and would go to keeping house in it. The owners had perhaps gone on, another day's journey, and had found near Batavia or Warsaw another abandoned residence, whose late occupants had determined to put the Genesee river between them and the foe. Everybody wanted to get one stage farther east.

Selfishess was the prevailing characteristic—at least few looked beyond their own families; yet there were some exceptions. On the morning of the 30th a farmer from Hamburg, with a load of cheese for the Buffalo market, met the fugitives on the lake beach, a short distance from the village. He immediately flung his cheese right and left upon the ground, filled his sleigh with women and children and carried them as far as his home.

I have mentioned how Hoysington's children were carried off by horsemen. Such aid by mounted men to children was quite frequent. Sometimes a horseman would take up two or three children; sometimes a gallant cavalier would be seen with some weary woman seated behind him, and a child on the pommel of his saddle.

The cases of separation of families were very numerous, and sometimes they were not united for several weeks. In Clarence a family hastily loaded some provisions and several children into a sleigh, and drove eastward at full speed. After traveling several miles they discovered that they had lost one of the children out of the hind end of the sleigh. Fortunately, on returning, it was found uninjured.

Those who fled told the most dismal stories, making the misfortune even worse than the sad reality. The Indians were represented as just in the rear, tomahawking men, women and children indiscriminately.

Even particular individuals were causelessly reported as killed, to their terror-stricken friends. A militiaman came to the log tavern of Colonel Warren, where his frightened wife was anxiously awaiting news of her husband. He looked up and read aloud the name on the sign—"William Warren."

"Well," said he "Colonel Warren is no more; I myself stepped over his dead body;" and then hurried on. In fact, the colonel was not even wounded.

The fleeing Indians added to the dreadful rumors. During the war they kept runners going almost constantly between the Buffalo reservation and those of Cattaraugus and Allegany. One of their trails ran through Eden. These, when they could talk a little English, frequently enlivened the minds of the inhabitants along the route by terrible tales of the "British Indians." But after the burning of Buffalo they let loose all their powers of description.

"Whoop!" cried the dusky runner, as he paused for an instant before the door of some log cabin, where stood a trembling matron surrounded by tow-headed children; "Whoop! Buffalo all burned up! British Indians coming! Kill white squaw! Kill papoose! Scalp 'em all! Burn up everything! Whoop!" and away he bounded through the forest, leaving dismay and wailing in his track.

Still, when it was found that the enemy had retired, curiosity induced many men from the nearest towns to visit the ruins. Others went to render what assistance they could, and still others, alas, to take advantage of the universal confusion and purloin whatever might have been left by the invader. A few went on the 31st of December, more on the 1st of January.

On the former day everything was quiet. On the latter, as the few remaining citizens and some from the country were staring at the ghastly ruins, a detachment of the enemy suddenly appeared, making prisoners of most of them; among others of Benjamin Hodge, Jr., of Buffalo, and David Eddy, of Hamburg. The former was kept prisoner throughout the war.

They then fired all the remaining buildings, except the jail, which would not burn, Reese's blacksmith shop, and Mrs. St. John's cottage. On their coming to the latter, Mrs. S. and her daughters tried to persuade the commander not to burn the large hotel, which was still standing. He, however, drew from his pocket, and read, an order commanding him to burn every building except "the one occupied by an old woman and two girls." So the big hotel went with the rest. The little house in which lay the remains of the murdered Mrs. Lovejoy was also fired, and the building and corpse were consumed together.

As the detachment was about to depart, the commandant was informed that there were public stores at Hodge's tavern, on the

hill. A squad of horsemen were sent thither to burn it. Benj. Hodge, Sr., and Keep, the Cold Spring blacksmith, were there, and ran on the enemy's approach. The sergeant in command called to them to stop, and Hodge did so. Keep ran on a short distance, when a carbine bullet pierced him and he fell—near where is now the south gate of Spring Abbey.

The sergeant then entered, and, seeing a large quantity of merchandise stored there by merchants of the village, ordered the house set on fire, though assured that none of it was public property. After the building was well aflame he found a cask of old Jamaica, and was filling his canteen from it, when the cry was raised, "The Yankees are coming."

A detachment of horse was seen crossing Scajaquada creek. The British hurriedly mounted, and rode off toward Buffalo. The new comers were some mounted Canadian volunteers, under Adjutant Tottman. He galloped up to the side of the rearmost of the retreating Britons, and was instantly shot dead.

Close behind Tottman's force came Mr. William Hodge, who, having returned from Harris' Hill the day before and found his property undisturbed, was flattering himself that he had escaped the general desolation. Now he saw his hopes shattered at a blow. His house was the last one burned, both in point of time and of distance from the village. After Tottman was shot, his men, dashing up, caught a half-blood Indian setting fire to Hodge's barn. He was taken into Newstead where he was summarily disposed of.

At this same time, a squad of Indians went to Major Miller's tavern, at Cold Spring. A Mrs. Martin, who was there, fed them and kept them in good humor until our horsemen appeared, when they escaped into the woods. This was the farthest that any of the enemy penetrated into the country.

A day or two after the second raid the people assembled and picked up the dead bodies, and brought them to Reese's blacksmith shop. The number is variously stated, but the most careful account makes it forty-two killed, besides some who were not found, (Hoysington was not found until spring,) and some prominent persons like Col. Boughton, who were taken care of earlier. At the shop they were laid in rows, a ghastly display, all being frozen stiff, and most of them stripped, tomahawked

and scalped. After those belonging in the vicinity had been taken away by their friends, the rest were deposited in a single large grave, in the old burying ground on Franklin Square, covered only with boards, so they could be easily examined and taken away.

Then quiet settled down on the destroyed village and almost deserted county. Even Mrs. St. John left, and when, a few days after the burning, James Sloan and Samuel Wilkeson came down the lake shore, the only living thing which they saw between Pratt's ferry and Cold Spring was a solitary cat wandering amid the blackened ruins.

But the pioneers had plenty of energy and resolution, even if they were not very good soldiers. On the 6th of January, just a week after the main conflagration, William Hodge brought his family back, it being the first that returned. Pomeroy came immediately afterwards. That energetic personage raised the first building in the new village of Buffalo, on the same spot where he had been once mobbed and once burned out within thirteen months. Hodge's was the second.

A few others came back and fitted up temporary shelters. A Mr. Allen occupied Mrs. St. John's cottage, and did a good business by keeping a house of entertainment for those who came to see the ruins. Soldiers were stationed in the village—I think a detachment of regulars—and as time wore on people began to feel more safe. But the winter was one of intense excitement and distress. Scarce a night passed without a rumor of an attack. Many times some of the inhabitants packed up their goods, ready to flee. Twice during the winter small squads of the enemy crossed the river, but were driven back by the soldiers and citizens without much fighting. Most of the people who came back had nothing to live on, save what was issued to them by the commissary department of the army.

The rest of the county was hardly less disturbed. There were houses to live in, and generally plenty to eat, but every blast that whistled mournfully through the forest reminded the excited people of the death-yell of the savage, and fast-succeeding rumors of invasion kept the whole population in a state of spasmodic terror.

The Salisburys evidently made good their escape with their

type as soon as they heard of the capture of Fort Niagara. On the 18th of January they issued their paper at Harris' Hill.

That point became a kind of rendezvous for business men. Root & Boardman opened a law office there, locating, according to their advertisement, "next door east of Harris' tavern and fourteen miles from Buffalo ruins." Le Couteulx went east after the destruction of his property, and Zenas Barker was appointed county clerk, establishing his office at Harris' Hill. The nearest post-office, however, was at Williamsville.

The suffering would have been even greater than it was, had not prompt measures of relief been taken by the public authorities and the citizens of more fortunate localities. The legislature voted $40,000 in aid of the devastated district, besides $5,000 to the Tuscarora Indians, and $5,000 to residents of Canada driven out on account of their friendship for the United States. The city of Albany voted a thousand dollars, and the city of New York three thousand. The citizens of Canandaigua appointed a committee of relief, who raised a considerable amount there, and sent communications soliciting aid to all the country eastward. They were promptly responded to, and liberal contributions raised throughout the State. With this aid, and that of the commissary department, and the assistance of personal friends, those who remained on the frontier managed to live through that woeful winter.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

Mars and Hymen.—Soldiers' Graves.—Scott and Brown.—Elections and Appointments.—Discipline at Buffalo.—The Death Penalty.—The Advance.—Capture of Fort Erie.—Approaching Chippewa.—An Indian Battle.—A Retreat.—A Dismounted Young Brave.—Victory.—Scalps.—"Hard Times."—Advance to Fort George.—Return.—Lundy's Lane.—The Romance of War.—Retreat to Fort Erie.—The Death of the Spy.—"Battle of Conjockety Creek."—Assault on Fort Erie.—The Explosion.—Call for Volunteers.—The Response.—The Track through the Forest.—The Sortie.—Gallantry of the Volunteers.—Gen. Porter.—Quiet.—Peace.

As spring approached, the frontier began to revive. More troops appeared, and their presence caused the paying out of considerable sums of money among the inhabitants. There was a ready market for produce at large prices.

By March the people had sufficiently recovered from their fright to go to getting married. One number of the Gazette contained notices of two weddings at Williamsville, one at Harris' Hill, one in Clarence, one in Willink, and one in Concord—the longest list which had yet appeared in that paper.

Williamsville was the rendezvous for the troops. There was a long row of barracks, parallel with the main street of that village and a short distance north of it, and others used as a hospital, a mile or so up the Eleven-Mile creek. Near these latter, and close beside the murmuring waters of the stream, rest several scores of soldiers who died in that hospital, all unknown, their almost imperceptible graves marked only by a row of maples, long since planted by some reverent hand.

Buffalo began to rise from its ashes. A brick-company was organized, and by the first of April several buildings had been erected, and contracts made for the erection of twenty or thirty more. By the 20th of that month several business men were there. The post-office was reopened, at first at Judge Granger's house and soon after at the village.

On the 10th of April there arrived on the frontier a stately

young warrior, whose presence was already considered a harbinger of victory, and whose shoulders had lately been adorned by the epaulets of a brigadier-general. This was Winfield Scott, then thirty years old, and the beau ideal of a gallant soldier. Immediately afterwards came his superior officer, Major-General Brown, who had been rapidly advanced to the highest rank, on the strength of the vigor and skill he had shown as a commander at the foot of Lake Ontario.

An election was held in this month, at which General Porter was again chosen to Congress on the Democratic ticket. Clarence cast two hundred and twenty-three votes, while the whole town of Buffalo only furnished a hundred and forty-seven. It had only been a year and four months since the last congressional election, which was doubtless owing to some change in the law regarding the time of holding.

Jonas Williams was again elected to the assembly. The only supervisors known were Simeon Fillmore of Clarence, Lemuel Parmely of Eden, and Richard Smith of Hamburg.

A new "commission of the peace" was issued by which Daniel Chapin, Charles Townsend and Oliver Forward of Buffalo, Richard Smith of Hamburg, and Archibald S. Clarke of Clarence, were named as judges; and Jonas Williams, James Cronk, John Beach and David Eddy as assistant justices. The justices of the peace named in the new commission were John Seeley, Philip M. Holmes, Joseph Hershey and Edward S. Stewart, of Buffalo; Daniel McCleary, Daniel Rawson, and Levi Brown, of Clarence; Joshua Henshaw, Calvin Clifford, James Wolcott, and Ebenezer Holmes, of Willink; Daniel Thurston and Amasa Smith, of Hamburg; Joseph Hanchett, of Concord; Asa Cary and John Hill, of Eden. Joseph Landon, Rowland Cotton and Henry Brothers were named as coroners.

Many changes were also taking place among the military men of the county. A new commission, announcing promotions and appointments in Lt.-Col. Warren's regiment, (the 48th New York infantry,) designated Ezekiel Cook as first major, and Ezra Nott as second; Lyman Blackmar, Peter Lewis, Frederick Richmond, Luther Colvin, Benjamin I. Clough, Timothy Fuller and James M. Stevens as captains; Thomas Holmes, Aaron Salisbury, Dennis Riley, Moses Baker, William Austin, Oliver Alger,

Micah B. Crook and Elihu Rice as lieutenants; and John M. Holmes, Otis Wheelock, Lathrop Francis, Sumner Warren, George Hamilton, Calvin Doolittle, Giles Briggs and Asa Warren as ensigns.

By the 20th of May there were three taverns in operation in Buffalo, four stores, three offices and twelve shops; besides twenty-three houses, mostly occupied by families, and thirty or forty huts. Dr. Chapin, having been exchanged, got home about the first of June, and immediately began issuing statements.

Bodies of regular troops and some volunteers continued to concentrate at Williamsville and Buffalo. Scott removed his headquarters to the latter place toward the last of May, where the troops were encamped amid the ruins. Great efforts were made to introduce rigid discipline. The men were under constant drill, and desertion was mercilessly punished. Among the reminiscences of that era, no scene appears to have been more vividly impressed on the minds of the relators than the one which was displayed near the present corner of Maryland and Sixth streets, on the 4th of June, 1814.

Five men, convicted of desertion, knelt with bandaged eyes and pinioned arms, each with an open coffin before him and a new-made grave behind him. Twenty paces in front stood a platoon of men, detailed to inflict the supreme penalty of military law. The whole army was drawn up on three sides of a hollow square, to witness the execution, the artillerymen standing by their pieces with lighted matches, ready to suppress a possible mutiny, while Generals Brown, Scott and Ripley sat upon their horses, surrounded by their brilliant staffs, looking sternly on the scene.

When the firing party did their deadly work, four men fell in their coffins or their graves, but one, a youth under twenty-one, was unhurt. He sprang up, wrenched loose his pinioned arms, and tore the bandage from his eyes. Two men advanced to extinguish the last remains of life in those who had fallen. He supposed they were about to dispatch him, and fell fainting to the ground. He was taken away without further injury. Doubtless it had been determined to spare him on account of his youth, and therefore all of his supposed executioners had been furnished with unloaded muskets.

The work of preparation went forward, though not very rapidly. On the 28th of June a statement appeared in the Gazette that the rumors of an immediate advance which had been in circulation were not true, and that the transportation of the army was not ready. This was no doubt inserted by order, for on the 3d of July the advance began.

Brown's force consisted of two brigades of regulars under Generals Scott and Ripley, and one of volunteers under General Porter. This was composed of five hundred Pennsylvanians, six hundred New York volunteers, all of whom had not arrived when the movement began, and nearly six hundred Indians.

Six hundred was almost the entire strength of the Six Nations, and these had been gathered from all the reservations in Western New York. It is probable that the great age of Farmer's Brother prevented him from crossing. Acting as a private in the ranks was Red Jacket, the principal civil leader of the Six Nations, who, notwithstanding the timidity usually attributed to him, was unwilling to stay behind while his countrymen were winning glory on the field of carnage. Col. Robert Fleming was quartermaster of this peculiar battalion.

Fort Erie was garrisoned by a hundred and seventy British soldiers. The main body of the enemy was at Chippewa, two miles above the Falls, and eighteen miles below the fort.

On the 2d of July, Brown, Scott and Porter reconnoitred Fort Erie and concerted the plan of attack. Ripley, with part of his brigade, was to embark in boats at Buffalo in the night, and land a mile up the lake from the fort. Scott with his brigade was to cross from Black Rock, and land a mile below Fort Erie, which, in the morning, both brigades were to invest and capture.

Scott and Ripley both started at the time appointed, but, as in most military operations depending on concert of action between separate corps, there was a difficulty not foreseen. Ripley's pilot was misled by a fog on the lake, and his command did not land until several hours past time. Scott, however, crossed promptly, and was able to invest the fort with his brigade alone. At sunrise the artillery and Indians crossed at the ferry, and after some parleying the fort surrendered, without awaiting an attack.

The campaign along the Niagara, which followed, was out-

side the bounds of Erie county. I shall, however, give a sketch of it for several reasons. It was participated in by many soldiers of Erie county, in the ranks of the New York volunteers, though I cannot ascertain whether they had any separate organization. The Indians who took part in it on our side mostly belonged to the "oldest families" of Erie county. One of Brown's three brigades was commanded by the Erie county general, Peter B. Porter. And besides, my readers must be disgusted by the poor fighting done by the Americans on the Niagara during the previous years, and I want to take the taste out of their mouths.

The afternoon of the 3d, Scott marched several miles down the Niagara, and on the morning of the 4th drove in the enemy's advanced posts. He was followed by Brown and Ripley, and both brigades established themselves on the south side of Street's creek, two miles south of Chippewa.

On their left, three fourths of a mile from the Niagara, was a dense and somewhat swampy forest on both sides of Street's creek, extending to within three fourths of a mile of Chippewa creek, which was bordered for that distance by a level, cleared plain. On the north side of that creek the British army lay intrenched. The two armies were concealed from each other's sight by a narrow strip of woodland, reaching from the main forest to within a hundred yards of the river bank.

During the night of the 4th the Americans were much annoyed by Indians and Canadians lurking in the forest, who drove in their pickets and threatened their flanks.

Late that night General Porter crossed the river with his Indians and Pennsylvanians, and in the morning marched toward Chippewa. He was met on the road by General Brown, who spoke of the manner in which he had been annoyed by lurkers in the forest, and proposed that Porter should drive them out, declaring confidently that there would be no British regulars south of the Chippewa that day. Still, he said he would order Scott to occupy the open ground beyond Street's creek, in support of Porter. The latter accepted the proposition of his chief, and at three o'clock started to put it in execution.

The Indians assumed their usual full battle-dress—of maturnip-line, breech-clout, moccasins, feathers and paint—and the

war-chiefs then proceeded to elect a leader. Their choice fell on Captain Pollard, a veteran of Wyoming and many other fights.

Porter left two hundred of his Pennsylvanians in camp, thinking their presence needless, and formed the other three hundred in one rank, on the open ground, half a mile south of Street's creek, their left resting on the forest. The whole five or six hundred Indians were also formed in one rank in the woods, their right reaching to the left of the whites. General Porter stationed himself between the two wings of his command, with Captain Pollard on his left. He was also attended by two or three staff officers, by Hank Johnson the interpreter, and by several regular officers, who had volunteered to see the fun. Red Jacket was on the extreme left of the Indian line. A company of regular infantry followed as a reserve. The war chiefs took their places twenty yards in front of their braves, and a few scouts were sent still farther in advance.

Then, at a given signal, the whole line moved forward, the whites marching steadily with shouldered arms on the plain, the naked Indians gliding through the forest with cat-like tread, their bodies bent forward, their rifles held ready for instant use, their feathers nodding at every step, their fierce eyes flashing in every direction. Suddenly one of the chiefs made a signal, and the whole line of painted warriors sank to the ground, as quickly and as noiselessly as the sons of Clan Alpine at the command of Roderick Dhu. This maneuver was a part of their primitive tactics, and the chiefs rapidly assembled to consult over some report brought back by a scout.

At another signal the warriors sprang up, and the feather-crested line again moved through the forest. The maneuver was repeated when the scouts brought word that the enemy was awaiting them on the north bank of Street's creek. General Porter was informed of this fact, and made some slight changes in his arrangements, and again the line advanced with increased speed.

As the Indians approached the creek, they received the fire of a force of British Indians and Canadians stationed there. They instantly raised a war-whoop that resounded far over the Niagara, and charged at the top of their speed. The foe at once

fled. The Iroquois dashed through the little stream and bounded after them, whooping, yelling, shooting, cleaving skulls and tearing off scalps like so many demons. Many were overtaken, but few captured. Occasionally, however, a Seneca or Cayuga would seize an enemy, unwind his maturnip-line, bind him with surprising quickness, and then go trotting back to the rear, holding one end of the maturnip, as a man might lead a horse by the halter.

Such speed and bottom were displayed by the Indians that neither the regulars nor volunteers were able to keep up with them. For more than a mile the pursuit was maintained, in the words of General Porter, "through scenes of frightful havoc." At length the Indians, who had got considerably in advance, emerged upon the open ground three quarters of a mile from Chippewa creek, when they were received with a tremendous fire from the greater part of the British regular army, drawn in line of battle on the plain.

It looks as if General Riall had determined to attack the Americans, and had sent forward his light troops to bring on a battle, expecting probably that the whole American force would get exhausted in pursuit, and become an easy prey to his fresh battalions. The fact that the pursuit was carried on by the American light troops and Indians alone broke up, and in fact reversed, this programme.

The warriors quickly fled from the destructive fire in front. General Porter, supposing that it came from the force they had been pursuing, rallied the greater part of them, formed them again on the left of his volunteers and moved forward to the edge of the wood. Again the long, red-coated battalions opened fire. The volunteers stood and exchanged two or three volleys with them, but when the enemy dashed forward with the bayonet Porter, seeing nothing of Scott with the supports, gave the order to retreat. Both whites and Indians fled in the greatest confusion.

On came the red-coats at their utmost speed, supposing they had gained another easy victory, and that all that was necessary was to catch the runaways. The Indians, being the best runners and unencumbered with clothing, got ahead in the retreat as they had in the advance, but the whites did their best to keep up with them. The flight continued for a mile, pursuers as

well as pursued becoming greatly disorganized, and the speed of the fugitives being accelerated by the constant bursting of shells from the enemy's artillery.

Approaching Street's creek, Scott's brigade was found just crossing the bridge and forming line. They took up their position with the greatest coolness under the fire of the British artillery, but Porter claimed that, through the fault of either Scott or Brown, they were very much behind time. The former general was always celebrated for his promptness, and the fault, if there was one, was probably with Brown. Perhaps he didn't expect Porter's men to run so fast, either going or coming.

The result, however, was as satisfactory as if this precipitate retreat had been planned to draw forward the foe. Ripley's brigade was at once sent off to the left, through the woods, to flank the enemy. The fugitives, as they ran, also bore to the westward, and Scott's fresh battalions came into line in perfect order, making somewhat merry over the haste of their red and white comrades.

Some of the Indians had taken their sons, from twelve to sixteen years old, into battle, to initiate them in the business of war. One of these careful fathers was now seen running at his best speed, with his son on his shoulders. Just as he passed the left flank of Scott's brigade, near where the general and his staff sat on their horses, superintending the formation of the line, a shell burst directly over the head of the panting warrior. "Ugh," he exclaimed, in a voice of terror, bounding several feet from the ground. As he came down he fell to the earth, and the lad tumbled off. Springing up, the older Indian ran on at still greater speed than before, leaving the youngster to pick himself up and scamper away as best he might. The scene was greeted with a roar of laughter by the young officers around Scott, who rebuked them sharply for their levity. In a few moments they had plenty of serious work to occupy their attention.

The Americans reserved their fire till the enemy was within fifty yards, when they poured in so deadly a volley that the British instantly fell back. They were quickly rallied and led to the attack, but were again met with a terrific fire, under which they retreated in hopeless disorder. Scott pursued them beyond the strip of woods before mentioned, when they fled across the

Chippewa into their intrenchments, and tore up the bridge. Scott's brigade then lay down on the open plain north of the woods. The battle, so far as the regulars were concerned, lasted only a few moments, but was one of the most decisive of the whole war.

By order of Gen. Brown, who was in the midst of the fight, Porter took his two hundred reserve Pennsylvanians to the left of Scott's brigade, where they, too, lay down under the fire of the British artillery. After awhile Ripley's brigade came out of the woods, covered with mud, having had their march for nothing, as the enemy they had attempted to flank had run away before their flank could be reached. It not being deemed best to attack the foe in his intrenchments, directly in front, the Americans returned at nightfall to their encampment.

The battle of Chippewa was the first, during the war of 1812, in which a large body of British regulars were defeated in the open field, and the Americans were immensely encouraged by it. Enlistment was thereafter much more rapid than before.

The total British loss, as officially reported, was five hundred and fourteen, of whom between one and two hundred were found dead on the field by the victors. About two hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, mostly wounded. The Americans had about fifty killed, a hundred and forty wounded, and a few taken prisoners. The number of American regulars engaged was thirteen hundred. Gen. Porter estimated the British regulars in the fight at seventeen hundred, but I know not on what grounds, nor how correctly.

It will be noticed that I am frequently referring to Gen. Porter as authority. In fact it is from his statement, in Stone's "Life of Red Jacket," that this description of the battle of Chippewa is principally derived.

There was a somewhat amusing dispute as to whether the American or British Indians ran the fastest and farthest. It was asserted that our braves never stopped till they reached the Buffalo reservation. This Porter declared to be a slander, insisting that the only reason why the Indians reached the rear before the whites was because they could run faster. It is certain that the main body of them remained with the army some two weeks after the battle. The Canadian Indians were so roughly

handled that they fled at once to the head of Lake Ontario, and never after took any part in the war.

The next morning Gen. Porter was horrified by the appearance at his tent of some twenty chiefs, each attended by a warrior of his band, bearing the bloody scalps they had stripped from their fallen foes. They had been informed that a bounty would be paid them for every scalp they produced. The startled general told them that nothing of the kind would be done, whereupon the ghastly trophies were burned or flung into the Niagara. The story that they were to be paid for scalps was in direct contravention of the agreement under which they had entered the American service, yet it found ready credence among the Indians. This tends to show that the stories of the British paying a bounty for scalps in the Revolution may have been without foundation, even though believed by the savages themselves.

After this grim episode, the chiefs obtained permission to visit the field and bring off their own dead. They brought in fifteen warriors, who were buried with the honors of war.

They also found three of their enemies mortally wounded but not yet dead. They cut the throats of two of these, but, recognizing the third as an old acquaintance, they furnished him with a canteen of water and left him to die in peace. On their relating what they had done, an officer angrily reproached Cattaraugus Hank for this brutality.

"Well, Colonel," said Hank, casting down his eyes, and speaking with every appearance of contrition, "it does seem rather hard to kill men in that way, but then you must remember these are very hard times."

Red Jacket is said to have played his part at Chippewa as well as any of his brethren. Yet even his admirers used to rally him about his timidity. One of them was heard chaffing him, declaring that he had given the sachem a scalp in order that he, too, might have a trophy to show, but that the latter was afraid to carry it.

On the 7th of July, the six hundred volunteers from Western New York joined Porter's brigade. I have found no account of how they were organized, nor of the localities from which they came.

On the 8th, Ripley's brigade and these New York volunteers forced a passage of the Chippewa, three miles up, quickly driving back the force stationed there. General Riall, finding himself flanked, destroyed his works and retreated rapidly to Queenston, and then to Fort George. Brown pursued and took up his quarters at Queenston, but did not deem his force sufficient either to assault or besiege the fortress.

On the 10th, Porter's brigade skirmished around the fort, to give the engineers a chance to reconnoitre, but nothing came of it.

At this time Red Jacket, who had all along opposed his countrymen's taking part in the war, proposed that messengers should be sent to the Mohawks, to concert a withdrawal of the Indians on both sides. General Brown consented, and two young chiefs were dispatched on a secret mission for that purpose. They were favorably received by some of the chiefs, but no formal arrangement was made.

Meanwhile the British received reinforcements, and Brown determined to return to Fort Erie. Riall followed. Before arriving at the Falls most of the Indians, through the management of Red Jacket, obtained permission to retire to their homes, agreeing to return if the British Indians should again take the field. But the latter were perfectly satisfied with that terrible drubbing in the Chippewa woods, and never again appeared in arms against the Americans. Nevertheless, some forty or fifty of our Indians remained with the army throughout the campaign.

On the 25th of July, Brown's army encamped near Chippewa creek. Riall was pressing so closely on the American rear that Brown sent back Scott's brigade to check him. Scott met the enemy at Bridgewater, just below the Falls. Sending back word to his superior, the impetuous Virginian led his columns to the attack. For an hour a desperate battle raged between Scott's single brigade and Riall's army, neither gaining any decided advantage.

At the end of that time, and but a little before night, Brown arrived with the brigades of Ripley and Porter. Determining to interpose a new line and disengage Scott's exhausted men, he ordered forward the two fresh brigades. The enemy's line was then near "Lundy's Lane," a road running at right angles

with the river, which it reaches a short distance below the Falls. His artillery was on a piece of rising ground, which was the key of the position. Colonel Miller, commanding a regiment of infantry, was asked by Brown if he could capture it. "I can try, sir," was the memorable response of the gallant officer.

Though the regiment which should have supported Miller's gave way, yet the latter moved steadily up the hill. Increasing its pace it swept forward, while its ranks were depleted at every step, and after a brief but desperate struggle carried the heights, and captured the hostile cannon at the point of the bayonet. At the same time Major Jessup's regiment drove back a part of the enemy's infantry, capturing Major-General Riall, their commander, and when General Ripley led forward his reserve regiment the British fell back and disappeared from the field.

It was now eight o'clock and entirely dark. In a short time the enemy rallied and attempted to regain his lost artillery. Seldom in all the annals of war has a conflict been fought under more strange and romantic circumstances. The darkness of night was over all the combatants. A little way to the northeastward rolled and roared the greatest cataract in the world, the wonderful Niagara. Its thunders, subdued yet distinct, could be heard whenever the cannon were silent. And there, in the darkness, upon that solitary hillside, within sound of that mighty avalanche of waters, the soldiers of the young republic, flushed with the triumph which had given them their enemy's battle-ground, and cannon, and commander, calmly awaited the onslaught of England's defeated but not disheartened veterans.

At half past eight the Americans saw the darkness turning red far down the slope, and soon in the gloom were dimly outlined the advancing battalions of the foe. The red line came swiftly, silently, and gallantly up the hill, beneath the swaying banners of St. George, and all the while the subdued roar of Niagara was rolling gently over the field.

Suddenly the American cannon and small-arms lighted up the scene with their angry glare, their voices drowning the noise of the cataract. The red battalions were torn asunder, and the hillside strewed with dead and dying men, but the line closed up and advanced still more rapidly, their fire rivaling that of the Americans, and both turning the night into deadly day.

Presently the assailants ceased firing, and then with thundering cheers and leveled bayonets rushed forward to the charge. But the American grape and canister made terrible havoc in their ranks, the musketry of Scott and Ripley mowed them down by the score, and the sharp-cracking rifles of Porter's volunteers did their work with deadly discrimination. More and more the assailants wavered, and when the Americans in turn charged bayonets the whole British line fled at their utmost speed.

The regulars followed but a short distance, being held in hand by their officers, who had no idea of plunging through the darkness against a possible reserve. But the volunteers chased the enemy down the slope, and captured a considerable number of prisoners. Then the Americans reformed their lines, and then again the murmur of the cataract held sway over the field.

Twice within the next hour the British attempted to retake their cannon, and both times the result was the same as that of the first effort. For two hours afterwards the Americans remained in line, awaiting another onslaught of the foe, but the latter made no further attempt.

Having no extra teams, the victors were unable to take away the captured guns, with one exception. Accordingly, with this single trophy, with their own wounded, and with a hundred and sixty-nine prisoners, including Gen. Riall, the Americans at midnight returned to their encampment on the Chippewa. Their loss was a hundred and seventy-one killed, four hundred and forty-nine wounded, and a hundred and seventeen missing. Both Brown and Scott were wounded, the latter severely, and both were removed to Buffalo.

One or two British writers have claimed a technical victory at Lundy's Lane, because the Americans finally left the field at midnight, but they do not dispute the facts above set forth, which are vouched for by Generals Brown, Porter and Ripley in a public declaration, viz., the capture of the English cannon, the attempt to recapture them, the utter failure, and the two hours' peaceable possession of the field by the Americans, before leaving it.

The real condition of the two armies is plainly shown by the fact that the next day the enemy allowed Ripley to burn the

mills, barracks and bridge at Bridgewater, without molestation. The Americans then pursued their untroubled march to Fort Erie.

On their arrival, the most of the volunteers went home, having served the remarkably long time of three or four months. Nevertheless they had done good service, and were entitled to a rest according to the views of volunteering then in vogue. The regulars had been reduced by various casualties to some fifteen hundred men. The British on the other hand had received reinforcements, and felt themselves strong enough to besiege the fort, if fort it could be called, which was rather a partially intrenched encampment.

Before narrating the renowned scenes around Fort Erie, I will mention a somewhat peculiar event on this side. Though the Senecas, Cayugas, etc., had mostly returned home, yet they were all friendly to the United States, and willing to prove it in any way which did not involve the risk of running against British battalions, while chasing Mohawks. Captain Worth, (afterwards the celebrated General Worth,) then a member of Scott's staff, was, like his chief, wounded at Lundy's Lane. His affable manners and dashing valor had made him a great favorite of the Indians, and when he was brought wounded to Landon's hotel they vied with each other in rendering him attention. The veteran Farmer's Brother, in particular, was in the habit of watching for hours by the captain's bedside.

On the 31st of July a Chippewa Indian came across the river, claiming to be a deserter. Individual desertion is a very uncommon crime among Indians, (though tribes sometimes change sides in a body,) and his story was received with suspicion by the Senecas. Nevertheless he was allowed to circulate freely among them, and a bottle of whisky being procured he was invited to share it.

Warmed by the vivifying fluid, the Senecas began recounting their valiant deeds, especially boasting of the red-coats and British Indians they had slain at Chippewa. The new comer, forgetful of the part he had assumed, began to brag of the great deeds *he* had done, holding up his fingers to indicate how many Yankees and Yankee Indians he had made to bite the dust, especially mentioning "Twenty Canoes," a noted chief and friend

of Farmer's Brother. The wrathful Senecas at once gathered around and denounced him as a spy. It is said, I know not how truly, that he then confessed that he had come in that capacity.

They were on Main street, close to Landon's, and the angry altercation reached the ears of Farmer's Brother, who was then at the bedside of Captain Worth. The old chief immediately joined the assemblage, and inquired the cause. He was told of the pretended deserter's offense, and particularly of his boasting over the slaughter of "Twenty Canoes." By this time Capt. Pollard, Major Berry and other chiefs had joined the crowd, and several whites were standing by as spectators.

On learning the facts, Farmer's Brother grasped his war-club, walked up to the unfortunate Chippewa, and felled him to the earth with a blow which broke the club into splinters. It was probably a fancy, full-dress war-club, not intended for such severe service. For a moment the Chippewa lay senseless, then suddenly sprang up, with the blood streaming down his face, burst through the crowd of startled Senecas and bounded away. Not a man followed him, but several cried out, (in their own tongue, of course):

"Ho! coward! You dare not stay and be punished! Coward! coward!"

The Chippewa stopped, slowly retraced his steps into the midst of his enemies, drew his blanket over his head, as Cæsar veiled his face with his toga, and lay down beside the wall of one of the burned buildings.

A brief consultation took place among the chiefs. Some of the whites who had gathered around manifested a disposition to interfere, but were sternly informed that that was an Indian trial, and the court must not be disturbed.

Presently a rifle was handed to Farmer's Brother, who walked up to the recumbent Chippewa and said:

"Here are my rifle, my tomahawk, and my scalping-knife; take your choice by which you will die." The spy muttered his preference for the rifle.

"And where will you be shot?" continued the unconscious imitator of the mercy of Richard the Third. The condemned man put his hand to his heart, the chieftain placed the muzzle

of his rifle at the point indicated and pulled the trigger. With one convulsive movement the spy expired. Four young Senecas picked up the corpse, carried it to the edge of the wood a quarter of a mile east of Main street, flung it down and left it unburied, to be devoured by the wild animals of the forest.

On the other side of the river, General Drummond's army for two weeks steadily worked their way toward the American defenses. These consisted principally of two stone mess-houses and a bastion, known as "Old Fort Erie," a short distance east of the river bank, and a natural mound, half a mile farther south and near the lake, which was surmounted with breastworks and cannon and called "Towson's Battery." Between the old fort and the battery ran a parapet, and another from the old fort eastward to the river. On both the north and west a dense forest came within sixty rods of the American works. The British erected batteries in the woods on the north, each one farther south than its predecessor, and then in the night chopped out openings through which their cannon could play on our works.

At this time the commander at Fort Erie was in the habit of sending across a battalion of regular riflemen every night, to guard the bridge over Scajaquada creek, who returned each morning to the fort. About the 10th of August a heavy British force crossed the river at night, at some point below the Scajaquada, and just before daylight they attempted to force their way across the latter stream. Their objective point was doubtless the public stores at Black Rock and Buffalo.

Being opposed by the riflemen before mentioned, under Major Lodowick Morgan, there ensued a fight of some importance, of which old men sometimes speak as the "Battle of Conjockety Creek," but of which I have found no printed record. Even the Buffalo Gazette of the day was silent regarding it, though it afterwards alluded to Major Morgan as "the hero of Conjockety."

The planks of the bridge had been taken up, and the riflemen lay in wait on the south side. When the enemy's column came up, Morgan's men opened a destructive fire. The English pressed forward so boldly that some of them, when shot, fell into the creek and were swept down the Niagara. They were compelled

to fall back, but again and again they repeated the attempt, and every time they were repulsed with loss.

A body of militia, under Colonels Swift and Warren, were placed on the right of the regulars, and prevented the enemy from crossing farther up the creek. Several deserters came over to our forces, having thrown away their weapons and taken off their red coats, which they carried rolled up under their arms. They reported the enemy's force at seventeen hundred, but that was probably an exaggeration.

After a conflict lasting several hours the enemy retreated, having suffered severely in the fight. The Americans had eight men wounded.

Early in the morning of the 15th of August, 1814, the English attempted to carry Fort Erie by storm, under cover of the darkness. At half past two o'clock, a column of a thousand to fifteen hundred men moved from the woods on the west against Towson's battery. Though received with a terrific fire they pressed forward, but were at length stopped within a few yards of the American lines. They retreated in confusion, and no further attempt was made at that point.

Notwithstanding the strength of this attack it was perhaps partly in the nature of a feint, for immediately afterwards two other columns issued from the forest on the north. One sought to force its way up along the river bank, but was easily repulsed. The other, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, advanced against the main bastion. It was defended by several heavy guns and field-pieces, by the Ninth United States infantry, and by one company each of New York and Pennsylvania volunteers.

Received with a withering discharge of cannon and musketry, Drummond's right and left were driven back. His center, however, ascended the parapet, but were finally repulsed with dreadful carnage.

Again Drummond led his men to the charge and again they were repulsed.

A third time the undaunted Englishmen advanced over ground strewn thick with the bodies of their brethren, in the face of a sheet of flame from the walls of the bastion, and a third time they were driven back with terrible loss. This would have satisfied most men of any nation, and one cannot refrain from a

tribute to English valor of the most desperate kind, when he learns that Drummond again rallied his men, led them a fourth time over that pathway of death, mounted the parapet in spite of the volleying flames which enveloped it, and actually captured the bastion at the point of the bayonet.

Many American officers were killed in this terrible struggle. Drummond was as fierce as he was brave, and was frequently heard crying to his men, "Give the damned Yankees no quarter." But even in the moment of apparent victory he met his fate—a shot from one of the last of the retreating Americans laying him dead upon the ground.

Reinforcements were promptly sent to the endangered locality by Gens. Ripley and Porter. A detachment of riflemen attacked the British in the bastion but were repulsed. Another and larger force repeated the attack, but also failed.

The Americans prepared for a third charge, and two batteries of artillery were playing upon the heroic band of Britons. Suddenly the whole scene was lighted up by a vast column of flame, the earth shook to the water's edge, the ear was deafened by a fearful sound which reëchoed far over the river. A large amount of cartridges, stored in one of the mess-houses adjoining the bastion, had been reached by a cannon-ball and exploded. One instant the fortress, the forest, the river, the dead, the dying and the maddened living, were revealed by that fearful glare—the next all was enveloped in darkness, while the shrieks of hundreds of Britons, in more terrible agony than even the soldier often suffers, pierced the murky and sulphurous air.

The Americans saw their opportunity and redoubled the fire of their artillery. For a few moments the conquerors of the bastion maintained their position, but half their number, including most of their officers, were killed or wounded, their commander was slain, and they were dazed and overwhelmed by the calamity that had so unexpectedly befallen them. After a few volleys they fled in utter confusion to the friendly forest.

As they went out of the bastion the Americans dashed in, snatching a hundred and eighty-six prisoners from the rear of the flying foe. Besides these there remained on the ground they had so valiantly contested two hundred and twenty-one English dead, and a hundred and seventy-four wounded, nearly

all in and around that single bastion. Besides, there were the wounded who were carried away by their comrades, including nearly all who fell in the other two columns. The Americans had twenty-six killed and ninety-two wounded. Seldom has there been a more gallant attack, and seldom a more disastrous repulse.

During the fight the most intense anxiety prevailed on this side. The tremendous cannonade a little after midnight told plainly enough that an attack was being made. Nearly every human being who resided among the ruins of Buffalo and Black Rock, and many in the country around, were up and watching. All expected that if the fort should be captured the enemy would immediately cross, and the horrors of the previous winter would be repeated. Many packed up and prepared for instant flight.

When the explosion came, the shock startled even the war-seasoned inhabitants of Buffalo. Some thought the British had captured the fort and blown it up, others imagined that the Americans had penetrated to the British camp and blown that up; and all awaited the coming of morn with nerves strung to their utmost tension. It was soon daylight, when boats crossed the river from the fort, and the news of another American victory was soon scattered far and wide through the country.

A day or two afterwards the wounded prisoners were sent to the hospital at Williamsville, and the unwounded to the depot of prisoners near Albany. Mr. William Hodge relates that when the wagons filled with blistered, blackened men halted near his father's house, they begged for liquor to drown their pain, but some of the unhurt, who marched on foot, were saucy enough. Looking at the brick house rising on the ruins of the former one, they declared they would burn it again within a year. They could not, however, have been very anxious to escape, for they were escorted by only a very small guard of militia. The late James Wood, of Wales, was one of the guard. Many of the prisoners were Highlanders, of the Glengarry regiment.

Having failed to carry the fort by assault, the British settled down to a regular siege. Closer and closer their lines were drawn and their batteries erected, the dense forest affording every facility for uninterrupted approach. Reinforcements con-

stantly arrived at the English camp, while not a solitary regular soldier was added to the constantly diminishing force of the Americans. By the latter part of August their case had become so desperate that Gov. Tompkins called out all the militia west of the Genesee, *en masse*, and ordered them to Buffalo. They are said by Turner to have responded with great alacrity.

Arriving at Buffalo, the officers were first assembled, and Gen. Porter called on them to volunteer to cross the river. There was considerable hanging back, but the general made another speech, and under his stinging words most of the officers volunteered. The men were then called on to follow their example, and a force of about fifteen hundred was raised. The 48th regiment furnished one company. Col. Warren volunteered and crossed the river, but was sent back with other supernumerary officers, and placed in command of the militia remaining at Buffalo.

The volunteers were conveyed across the river at night, about the 10th of September, and encamped on the lake shore above Towson's battery, behind a sod breast-work hastily erected by themselves. They were commanded by General Porter, who bivouacked in their midst, under whom was General Daniel Davis, of Le Roy. General Brown had resumed command of the whole American force.

At this time the enemy was divided into three brigades of fourteen or fifteen hundred men each, one of which was kept on duty in their batteries every three days, while the other two remained at the main camp, on a farm a mile and a half west of the fort.

Immediately after the arrival of the volunteers, a plan was concerted to break in on the enemy's operations by a sortie. The British had opened two batteries, and were nearly ready to unmask another, still nearer and in a more dangerous position. This was called "Battery No. Three," the one next north "No. Two," and the farthest one "No. One." It was determined to make an attack on the 17th of September, before Battery No. Three could be completed.

On the 16th, Majors Fraser and Riddle, both officers of the regular army acting as aids to General Porter, each followed by a hundred men, fifty of each party being armed and fifty pro-

vided with axes, proceeded from the camp of the volunteers, by a circuitous route through the woods, to within a short distance of Battery No. Three. Thence each detachment cut out the underbrush so as to make a track back to camp over the swampy ground, curving where necessary to avoid the most miry places. The work was accomplished without the British having the slightest suspicion of what was going on. This was the most difficult part of the whole enterprise, and its being accomplished without the enemy's hearing it must be partly attributed to good fortune.

In the forenoon of the 17th the whole of the volunteers were paraded, the enterprise was revealed to them, and a hand-bill was read, announcing the glorious victories won on Lake Champlain and at Plattsburg a few days before. The news was joyfully received and the sortie enthusiastically welcomed. The volunteers not being uniformed, every one was required to lay aside his hat or cap and wear on his head a red handkerchief, or a piece of red cloth which was furnished. Not an officer nor man wore any other head-gear, except General Porter.

At noon that commander led forth the principal attacking body from the volunteer camp. The advance consisted of two hundred volunteers under Colonel Gibson. Behind them came the column designed for storming the batteries, composed of four hundred regulars followed by five hundred volunteers, all commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood. These took the right hand track cut out the day before. Another column, of nearly the same strength, mostly volunteers, under General Davis, intended to hold the enemy's reinforcements in check and cooperate in the attack, took the left hand road.

At the same time a body of regulars, under General Miller, was concealed in a ravine near the northwest corner of the intrenchments, prepared to attack in front at the proper time. The rest of the troops were held in reserve under General Ripley.

Just after the main column started it began to rain, and continued to do so throughout the afternoon. The march was necessarily slow along the swampy, winding pathway, and had it not been for the underbrushed tracks the columns would probably have lost their way or been delayed till nightfall.

At nearly three o'clock Porter's command arrived at the end of the track, within a few rods of Battery No. Three, entirely unsuspected by its occupants. The final arrangements being made, they moved on, and in a few moments emerged upon the astonished workers and their guard. With a tremendous cheer, which was distinctly heard across the river, the men rushed forward, and the whole force in the battery, thoroughly surprised and overwhelmed by numbers, at once surrendered, without hardly firing a shot.

This attack was the signal for the advance of Miller's regulars, who sprang out of their ravine and hurried forward, directing their steps toward Battery No. Two. Leaving a detachment to spike and dismount the captured cannon, both of Porter's columns dashed forward toward the same object, Gen. Davis leading his volunteers and coöperating closely with Wood. They arrived at the same time as Miller. They were received with a heavy fire, but the three commands combined and carried the battery at the point of the bayonet.

Leaving another party to spike and dismount cannon, the united force pressed forward toward Battery No. One. But by this time the whole British army was alarmed, and reinforcements were rapidly arriving. Nevertheless the Americans attacked and captured Battery No. One, after a severe conflict.

How gallantly they were led is shown by the fact that all of Porter's principal commanders were shot down—Gibson at Battery No. Two, Wood while approaching No. One, and Davis while gallantly mounting a parapet between the two batteries at the head of his men. In the last struggle, too, Gen. Porter himself was slightly wounded by a sword-cut on the hand, and temporarily taken prisoner, but was immediately rescued by his own men.

Of course, in a sortie the assailants are not expected to hold the conquered ground. The work in this case had been as completely done as in any sortie ever made, and after Battery No. One had been captured a retreat was ordered to the fort, where the victorious troops arrived just before sunset.

The loss of the Americans was seventy-nine killed and two hundred and fourteen wounded; very few, if any, captured. Four hundred British were taken prisoners, a large number

killed and wounded, and what was far more important all the results of nearly two months' labor were entirely overthrown. So completely were their plans destroyed by this brilliant assault that only four days afterwards Gen. Drummond raised the siege, and retired down the Niagara.

After the enemy retreated the volunteers were dismissed with the thanks of their commanders, having saved the American army from losing its last hold on the western side of the Niagara.

The relief of Fort Erie was one of the most skillfully planned and gallantly executed sorties ever made. Gen. Napier, the celebrated British soldier and military historian, mentions it as one of the very few cases in which a single sortie had compelled the raising of a siege.

It was also the first really important service performed by the kind of soldier whose renown has since become world-wide, the American volunteer. The previous efforts of the volunteers had been very desultory, and, though often showing distinguished courage, they had not before borne a principal part in any battle. At this sortie, however, they were the chief actors, and then began that long series of brilliant services so well known to every American. A few months later the battle of New Orleans was won by their valor. During the Mexican war the system of volunteering was thoroughly matured, and during the war for the Union the worth of the American volunteer was tested on a hundred fields.

Very high credit was given to General Porter, both for his eloquence in engaging the volunteers and his skill and valor in leading them. The press sounded his praises, the citizens of Batavia tendered him a dinner, the governor breveted him a major-general, and Congress voted him a gold medal—he being, I think, the only officer of volunteers to whom that honor was awarded during the war of 1812.

These guerdons were justly his due on account of the distinguished services then known to the public. In addition, there is little doubt that he is entitled to the credit of originating and planning the sortie of Fort Erie. For several days previous he had been holding frequent interviews with General Brown, and also with two officers of engineers, the object of which was con-

cealed from his staff. He afterwards informed Col. Wm. A. Bird that the secret interviews with General Brown and the engineer officers were for the purpose of planning the sortie, and that Brown hesitated and requested Porter to draw a plan in writing, which he did, leaving the paper with Brown.

It is certain that it was Porter's aides who superintended the cutting out of the roads over which the main columns of attack passed, and it was Porter who was chosen to command that force, though composed of both regulars and volunteers, and though there were two or more regular generals under Brown at the fort. There was no probable reason why he should have been charged with the execution of the attack, except because he had planned it. Of course it was sanctioned by Brown, and the latter is fairly entitled to the credit belonging to every commander under whose orders a successful movement is carried out, but there is also especial credit due to the originator of a good plan, and I have little doubt that in this case that honor belongs to Peter B. Porter.

But the much higher honor is his of being the first distinguished leader of American volunteers against a disciplined foe. If he cannot be called the father of the volunteer system, he was certainly its principal pioneer.

The raising of the siege of Fort Erie was substantially the close of the war on the Niagara frontier. A few unimportant skirmishes took place, but nothing that need be recorded here. All the troops except a small guard were withdrawn from Fort Erie to Buffalo. It was known during the winter that commissioners were trying to negotiate a peace at Ghent, and there was a universal desire for their success. In this vicinity, at least, the people had had enough of the glories of war.

On the 15th of January, 1815, the news of the victory of New Orleans was announced in an extra of the Buffalo Gazette, but although it occasioned general rejoicing, yet the delight was by no means so great as when, a week later, the people of the ravaged frontier were informed of the signing of the treaty of Ghent. Post-riders as they delivered letters, doctors as they visited their patients, ministers as they journeyed to meet their backwoods congregations, spread everywhere the welcome news of peace.

Gen. Nott, in his reminiscences, relates that the first sermon in Sardinia was preached at his house by "Father Spencer," early in 1815. There was a large gathering. The people had heard that the good missionary had a newspaper announcing the conclusion of peace, and they were, most of them, probably more anxious to have their hopes in that respect confirmed than for aught else. Father Spencer was not disposed to tantalize them, and immediately on rising to begin the services he took the paper from his pocket, saying, "I bring you news of peace." He then read the official announcement, and it may be presumed that the gratified congregation afterwards listened all the more earnestly to the news of divine peace which it was the minister's especial province to deliver.

In a very brief time the glad tidings penetrated to the most secluded cabins in the county, and all the people turned with joyful anticipations to the half-suspended pursuits of peaceful life.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1815 AND 1816.

The Situation.—Beginnings of Villages.—General Porter.—A. H. Tracy.—Samuel Wilkeson.—Dr. Marshall.—Another Newspaper.—New Officials.—First Murder Trial.—Reese and Young King.—An "Angel of Death."—The Moral Society.—Marine Intelligence.—Buffalo Business.—Williamsville.—Alden.—Willink.—An Unpleasant Meeting.—Cheap Money.—Holland Mills.—Basswood Sugar.—Wright's Corners.—Duplicate "Smith's Mills."—Hill's Corners.—"Fiddler's Green."—"The Old Court House."—"The Man who Knows all the World."—Civil and Military Dignitaries.—Lake Cargoes.—"Grand Canal" Preliminaries.—Bank of Niagara.—Marshal Grouchy.—Red Jacket on Etiquette.—"The Cold Summer."—The Consequences.—A Mighty Hunter.—A Fruitless Sacrifice.—Asa Warren.

It is needless to give a resume of the condition of Erie county at the close of the war of 1812. It was just where it was at the beginning of that contest, except that Buffalo and Black Rock had been burned, and that here and there a pioneer had abandoned his little clearing. No new business had been developed anywhere, hardly a solitary new settler had taken up his abode in the county, and those already there had been so harrassed by Indian alarms and militia drafts that they had extended but very little the clearings which existed at the beginning of the war.

Immediately after the conclusion of peace, however, the long restrained tide again flowed westward, and for a while emigrants poured on to the Holland Purchase more rapidly than ever.

It will of course be impracticable, henceforth, to give attention to the names of individual settlers, to petty officers and to minor details, as during the pioneer period before the war. My notices will necessarily be confined to men in more or less public positions, to the general development of the county, to important events occurring in it, and to the origin of the scores of pleasant villages which now dot its surface. Nearly all of these first began to assume village shape during the ten years next succeeding the war of 1812.

Williamsville and Clarence Hollow were the only places, outside of Buffalo and its afterward-absorbed rival, Black Rock, which had advanced far enough to have a grist-mill, saw-mill, tavern and store all at once. The acquisition of the last-named institution, in addition to the other three, might fairly be considered as marking the beginning of a village. Taverns could be started anywhere. A man bought a few gallons of whisky, put up a sign in front of his log house, and forthwith became a hotel-keeper. Saw-mills were not very expensive, and were soon scattered along the numerous streams wherever there was the necessary fall. Grist-mills were more costly, and he was a heavy capitalist who could build one; still they were so absolutely necessary that they were frequently erected very early in the course of settlement, and while residences were still widely scattered.

But *a store*, a place where a real merchant dispensed calico, tea, nails, molasses, ribbons and salt, marked a decided advance in civilization, and almost always was the nucleus of a hamlet which has since developed into a thriving village.

A considerable body of troops remained at Buffalo during the winter, but all were sent away in the spring.

With one of the officers, Colonel Snelling, Red Jacket had formed a special intimacy. On his being ordered to Governor's Island in the harbor of New York, the sachem made him the following little speech, as published by a relative of the colonel:

"Brother—I hear you are going to a place called Governor's "Island. I hope you will be a governor yourself. I understand "that you white people think children a blessing. I hope you "may have a thousand. And above all, wherever you go, I "hope you may never find whisky above two shillings a quart."

In March, General Porter was appointed Secretary of State of New York by Governor Tompkins, and resigned his seat in Congress. His new position, and the one which he subsequently accepted, of United States commissioner to settle the northern boundary, seem to have had an obscuring effect on his fame; for whereas, not only during but before the war he had been one of the foremost men of the State, and almost of the nation, yet immediately afterwards he nearly disappeared from public sight. Nor did he ever regain the preeminent position he occu-

pied at the close of the war, though he afterwards for a brief period held a cabinet office.

A young man, destined in a very brief time to acquire a large part of the influence previously wielded by Porter, opened a law-office in Buffalo in the spring of 1815. This was Albert H. Tracy, then twenty-two years old, a tall, erect, vigorous young man, of brilliant intellect and thorough culture, a clear-headed lawyer and a skillful manager of the political chariot.

Another man, who immediately after the war entered on a career of great success and influence, was Samuel Wilkeson. In fact he had made a beginning in Buffalo a little earlier, building a shanty and opening a small mercantile business among the ruins, while war was still thundering around. He was another of the "big men," physically as well as mentally, who built up the prosperity of the emporium of Western New York. Over six feet high, with strong, resolute features, the index of a vigorous mind, always driving straight at his object, tremendous indeed must have been the difficulties which could divert him from it.

Dr. John E. Marshall was another influential man who settled in Buffalo in the spring of 1815. Like Wilkeson he came from Chautauqua county, of which he had been the first county clerk, and soon became prominent in his profession, in business and in political life.

In April, 1815, another newspaper, called the Niagara Journal, was established in Buffalo by David M. Day, who remained its editor and proprietor for many years, and wielded a strong influence in the county. The Gazette had leaned toward Federalism; the Journal was Democratic.

The assembly district composed of Niagara, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties was now awarded two members, the first ones chosen being Daniel McCleary, of Buffalo, and Elias Osborn, of Clarence. McCleary, also, soon after removed to Clarence.

The data are somewhat obscure, but Senator Archibald S. Clarke was elected to fill out Porter's term in Congress, and I think it was at a special election in June, 1815. Mr. Clarke was also appointed county clerk in 1815, and Dr. Johnson surrogate.

The supervisors chosen in that year were Jonas Harrison, of

Buffalo; Otis R. Hopkins, of Clarence; Lemuel Wasson, of Hamburg; Lemuel Parmely, of Eden. Concord and Willink unknown. In the latter town Arthur Humphrey and Isaac Phelps, Jr., were supervisors two or three terms each, between its first and second divisions.

These were the days when "general trainings" were occasions of great importance, and we must not neglect the military.

At the close of the war Gen. Hopkins resigned his brigadier-ship, and in May a new military commission was issued by which Lt.-Col. Wm. Warren was made brigadier-general. Wm. W. Chapin (son of Dr. Daniel) became lieutenant-colonel, with James Cronk and Joseph Wells as majors. Ezekiel Cook was made lieutenant-colonel commanding the regiment in the southern towns, its majors being Ezra Nott and Sumner Warren.

In June, 1815, there occurred the first murder trial in the present county of Erie, when Charles Thompson and James Peters were convicted of the murder of James Burba. They had both been soldiers in the regular army, and during the war had been sent on a scout with a companion, another soldier, a mile and a half below Scajaquada creek. They had gone three miles below the creek to Burba's residence, committed some depredations, got into a quarrel with the owner, and finally killed him. Their comrade escaped. The case furnishes further evidence of the inattention paid by the journals of that day to local news. To this important trial, at which two men were convicted of a capital crime, the Buffalo Gazette devoted just seventeen lines! Not a word of the evidence was given. Yet in the same issue that journal gave up a column and a half to the execution of a forger in England.

In August the two men were executed in public, as was the rule in that day. The prisoners and scaffold were guarded by several companies of militia, under General Warren. Glezen Fillmore, the young Methodist minister of Clarence, preached the funeral sermon, and was assisted in the last rites to the condemned by Rev. Miles P. Squier, who had just settled in Buffalo as the pastor of the Presbyterian church. On this occasion the Gazette conquered its apparent antipathy to local matters so far as to give a narrative of the crime in forty-six lines, but restricted its description of the execution to sixteen.

Another event, which at an earlier day would have set all the people wild with fears of Indian massacre, was a conflict between David Reese, the blacksmith, and the Seneca chief, "Young King." The former had had a quarrel with another Indian, and had struck him. Young King rode up and denounced him for doing so. Reese told the chief if he would get off his horse he would serve him the same way. At this Young King dismounted and struck the blacksmith with his club. Reese immediately snatched a scythe from a bystander, and inflicted on the chief's arm a blow so severe that it was found necessary to amputate it.

Ten years before this might have brought on a bloody conflict between the Indians and whites, but the latter were now strong enough to protect themselves unless their red neighbors were joined by the English, of which there was at that time no danger. There was, however, some danger to Reese himself from the vengeance of Young King's friends. None of those around Buffalo seem to have made any trouble, but John Jemison, the half-breed son of the celebrated "White Woman," a man of desperate passions, who murdered two of his own brothers, came from the Genesee at the head of a party of Indians, with the avowed intention of killing Reese. Turner, in his "Holland Purchase," mentions having seen Jemison on his way, and describes him as well personifying the ideal Angel of Death. His face was painted a bloody red, long bunches of horsehair, also colored red, hung from his arms, and his appearance betokened a determination to use promptly the war-club and tomahawk which were his only weapons.

Reese's friends, however, either secreted or guarded him, and the danger passed by. The dispute with Young King was probably settled by Reese's paying him a sum of money, though all I can learn is that it was referred by the principals to Judge Porter, Joshua Gillett and Jonas Williams, as arbitrators.

The proceedings of a brief-lived institution called the Buffalo Moral Society, organized for the repression of vice in that village, shows the change of public sentiment on two points. A very guarded temperance resolution was adopted, in which it was recommended to professors of religion and friends of morality "as far as practicable" to refrain from ardent spirits, to

admit their use cautiously if at all, and to devise means of lessening if not discontinuing their use among laborers.

As to Sabbath-breaking their ideas were far more positive, as not long after they published a resolution declaring that the laws should be strictly enforced, not only against all who should drive loaded teams into the village, unload goods, keep open stores, etc., but also against all parties of pleasure, riding *or walking* to Black Rock or elsewhere. Such a society would now speak far more strongly against the use of liquor, but would hardly dream of prohibiting people from walking out on Sunday.

The first marine intelligence published under the head of "Port of Buffalo" was on the 15th of August, 1815, when the Gazette announced the following for the week previous: Entered —a boat from Detroit, loaded with fish and wool; sloop Commodore Perry, peltries. Cleared—sloop Fiddler, Cuyahoga, salt and pork.

The vessels in use appear to have been all sloops, schooners and open boats, and all but the last named craft landed at Black Rock. Salt was the most common article of merchandise sent up the lake. There were also sent in small quantities, dry goods, groceries, furniture and clothing. There was still less return freight. Nearly half of the few vessels came down the lake in ballast, but none went up so. When they were loaded on the return trip, it was usually with fish, fur and peltries. Not a bushel of grain, not a pound of flour, came down for many years after the war.

Building went on apace, and in July the Gazette boasted that there were nearly as many houses erected, or in process of erection, as had been burned a year and a half before.

Williamsville, which had become a place of considerable importance during the war, did not increase much for a good while after. Isaac F. Bowman was merchant and postmaster there in 1815.

Alden had been hardly as early in settlement as the other towns north of the reservation. The first saw-mill was not erected until 1814, John C. Rogers being the owner and builder. The next year a small log house was fitted up on the east part of the site of Alden village, and used both as school-house and church; Miss Mehitable Estabrooks being the first school-teacher.

To the corners in Willink, a mile east of Stephens' Mills, (now "East Aurora,") there came in the spring of 1815 a tall, dark, slender young man, about twenty-one years old, who purchased a small, unfinished frame and opened a store. This was Robert Person, for fifty years one of the most prominent citizens of Aurora, and this was the beginning of merchandising in Willink, aside from the abortive attempt of 1811.

A little before the close of the war a mail-route had been established through Willink and Hamburg, from east to west, running near the center of the present towns of Wales, Aurora and East Hamburg. There was a post-office called Willink at Blakely's Corners, two miles south of Aurora village, and, I think, one called Hamburg at "John Green's tavern." Simon Crook was the first postmaster of the former. After the war it was moved down to Aurora village, where Elihu Walker was postmaster for nearly twenty years.

Dr. John Watson continued to be the physician for the locality around Stephens' Mills. His brother, Dr. Ira G. Watson, located at what was afterwards called South Wales, where he practiced over thirty years, his ride extending over a large part of Wales, Aurora, Holland and Colden. It would appear that country doctors were sometimes short of medicines, for Dr. John Watson took pains to advertise that he had medicines for practice.

Mr. Wm. C. Russell, of South Wales, who came there, a boy, with his father, John Russell, near the close of the war, says there was then a road, which could be traveled by teams, from Buffalo through the reservation to Stephens' Mills. It was sufficiently wild, however. He and his oldest sister, a young girl, drove a cow ahead of the team. Near what is now Spring Brook a bear crossed the trail just ahead of them. Seeing the children, he stood up on his hind legs to reconnoitre. Hearing them scream and seeing them pick up clubs, he finally retreated. At this time John McKeen kept the old "Eagle stand" at the west end of the village of East Aurora, and there were a few houses, mostly log, at each end of that village.

In 1816, Aaron Warner opened a tavern at South Wales. His son, D. S. Warner, in describing the scarcity of money then, says he does not believe there was five dollars of current

money between Aurora and Holland. "Shinplasters," issued by private firms, were in use in many parts of the country, which, as Mr. Warner says, "were good from one turnpike gate to another."

Before the close of the war, Col. Warren and Ephraim Woodruff had bought the mill-site at Holland village, and finished a grist-mill already begun—the first in the present town of Holland. In the spring of 1815 Warren bought out Woodruff and moved to Holland, where he built a saw-mill, the first in that vicinity. Robert Orr was the mill-wright, and in the autumn of the same year he bought out Warren, who returned from Holland to Aurora; that is to say, he returned from the place where Holland was going to be to the place where Aurora was going to be.

Joshua Barron kept the first tavern in Holland, on the site of the village, just after the war, in the only frame house in the township. His sister, Lodisa Barron, since Mrs. Stanton, and still an active woman, kept the first school in that vicinity. There had been one in the Humphrey neighborhood before.

James Reynolds opened a store in East Hamburg, near the close of the war, not far from the site of the Friends' meeting-house—afterwards still nearer Potter's Corners. A man named Cromwell also had a store there not long after the war. His clerk was from New York city, and old pioneers still smile aloud as they relate how the young New Yorker attempted a grand speculation in sugar, and began by tapping all the largest white oaks and basswoods he could find.

Jacob Wright still kept the inn at or near Wright's Corners, and there the "townsmen of Hamburg" met in 1815, and, after electing Mr. Wasson supervisor, voted a bounty of five dollars on wolf-scalps. At this time the town was divided into nine school-districts. The "Friends, called Quakers," as the record says, presented a petition, and were set off in a district by themselves.

About this time, too, a Mr. Bennett opened a dry-goods and grocery store at Smith's Mills, (Hamburg,) the first one there. James Husted also had a tannery there. Although that was the principal place known as "Smith's Mills," there was another

point of the same name not a great ways off, at the mills of Humphrey Smith, in Willink, since called Griffin's Mills.

Mr. Wm. Boies, of the latter place, relates that when he first came into Erie county, in the spring of 1815, he was sent ahead by his brother to find his way, on horseback, to a still older brother who lived at "Staffordshire," in Aurora. He was directed to go to Buffalo, then up the beach of the lake, inquiring the way to "Wright's Corners," and there to inquire for "Smith's Mills." He did so, and was surprised to find himself at Smith's Mills only two miles from Wright's Corners. Further inquiry led to his finding that there was another Smith's Mills six or seven miles eastward, and thither he made his way.

Soon after the war John Hill's father, William Hill, formerly a surgeon in the Revolution, came to what is now Eden Center, and kept the first tavern there. The place was then called Hill's Corners.

The people of the town of Concord, (which it will be remembered comprised Sardinia, Concord, Collins and North Collins,) began to make a kind of business center at the point on Spring creek where Albro and Cochran had first settled, where Rufus Eaton had built a saw-mill before the war, and where he had afterwards erected a grist-mill and distillery.

Settlers had become so numerous around there that, in the winter of 1814, Mr. Eaton's son, Rufus C. Eaton, then nineteen, taught a school with seventy scholars. David Stickney started a tavern, and Capt. Frederick Richmond brought in some groceries shortly after the war—I cannot learn exactly when. There was a small open space, used as a kind of common, where the public square at Springville now is, which soon acquired the name of Fiddler's Green. The reason is a little doubtful, but the best account is that there were several good fiddlers living in the immediate vicinity, and the people for miles around used to assemble there for merry-makings of all kinds. From this the little village received the same name, and for many years "Fiddler's Green" was its universal designation. Notwithstanding this godless name, a Presbyterian church was organized there by Father Spencer, in 1816, being the first in the place. A Methodist and a Baptist church were formed not long after, but I have not the exact dates.

In the spring of 1816 a new court-house was begun in Buffalo, and the walls erected during the summer. Instead of being placed in the middle of Onondaga (Washington) street, with a circular plat around it, as before, it was built on the east side of that street, and a small park was laid out in front of it. The building then erected was the one which for the last twenty-five years has been known as the "Old Court House," and which has been torn down during the present season.

In that year Benjamin Ellicott, younger brother of Joseph, was elected to Congress. He was a resident of Williamsville, a surveyor by occupation, and not conspicuous after the expiration of his official term. The Indians called him by a name signifying "The Man who Knows all the World." They had observed him draw maps from notes brought him by his subordinates on which he depicted rivers and creeks which they knew he had never seen; hence the admiring appellation they gave him. He was the last congressman from Erie county residing outside the village or city of Buffalo.

The members of assembly chosen from this district were Richard Smith of Hamburg, and Jediah Prendergast of Chautauqua county. Frederick B. Merrill was appointed county clerk in this year, in place of Archibald S. Clarke; the latter being made a member of the governor's council of appointment. He was also commissioned as a judge of the Common Pleas. I doubt if any other man in the county has ever held so many offices as Judge Clarke.

The board of supervisors for that year was comprised of Nathaniel Sill of Buffalo, Otis R. Hopkins of Clarence, Richard Smith of Hamburg and Lemuel Parmely of Eden.

The town-book of Buffalo has been preserved since the war, and this one of its records, in 1816, brings vividly before the reader the then primeval condition of that great city and its suburbs:

"Voted that a reward of $5.00 be paid for the destruction of every wolf killed in said town, to be paid by the town, and that the evidence of their destruction shall be their scalp with the skin and ears on."

Military affairs were not suffered to lag, so far as the appointment of officers was concerned. A new regiment was created

in the spring of 1816; Colonels Chapin and Cook disappear from the record, and a commission was issued making Sumner Warren of Willink (Aurora), James Cronk of Clarence (Newstead), and Ezra Nott of Concord (Sardinia), lieutenant-colonels commandant; Joseph Wells of Buffalo, and Luther Colvin of Hamburg (East Hamburg), first majors; and Calvin Fillmore of Clarence (Lancaster), Frederick Richmond of Concord, and Benjamin I. Clough of Hamburg, second majors.

The commerce of the port of Buffalo continued of a very miscellaneous character, and articles of the same kind frequently went both ways. From a few records of cargoes, taken in their order, I find the articles going up were whisky, dry-goods, household-goods, naval stores, dry-goods, groceries, hardware, salt, fish, spirits, household-goods, mill-irons, salt, tea, whisky, butter, whisky, coffee, soap, medicines, groceries, household-goods, farm utensils.

Coming down, the list comprised furs, fish, cider, furs, paint, dry-goods, furniture, scythes, furs, grindstones, coffee, skins, furs, cider, paint, furs, fish, household-goods, grindstones, skins, scythes, coffee, fish, building-stone, crockery, hardware, pork, scythes, clothing. It is difficult to guess whereabouts up the lake crockery, hardware, dry-goods and coffee came from at that day, but such is the record.

Nearly all the vessels were schooners, a few only being sloops. The lake marine in 1816 was composed, besides a few open boats, of the schooners Dolphin, Diligence, Erie, Pomfret, Weasel, Widow's Son, Merry Calvin, Firefly, Paulina, Mink, Merchant, Pilot, Rachel, Michigan, Neptune, Hercules, Croghan, Tiger, Aurora, Experiment, Black Snake, Ranger, Fiddler, and Champion; and the sloops Venus, American Eagle, Perseverance, Nightingale, and Black-River-Packet.

There certainly did not seem to be much commerce to justify a grand canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie, but the statesmen of the day, looking hopefully toward the future, deemed its construction expedient, and they were eagerly seconded by the people. There had been various suggestions put forth from a very early day regarding the importance of a good water-communication between the ocean and the lakes. Most of them, however, were directed toward the improvement of the natural

channels, so as to connect the Mohawk with Lake Ontario at Oswego.

The first distinct, public advocacy of a separate canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie was made by Jesse Hawley, of Ontario county, in a series of essays published in the Ontario Messenger, in 1807–8. His idea was taken up by others, explorations were ordered by the legislature, and just before the war a law was passed authorizing the actual construction of the canal. The war, however, caused its repeal. De Witt Clinton had been foremost in urging forward the work, being strongly seconded by Gouverneur Morris, Joseph Ellicott, Peter B. Porter and others. Mr. Ellicott, especially, showed at once great breadth of view, and excellent practical judgment.

Immediately after the war the scheme was revived, Clinton being still its warmest supporter. Public opinion was thoroughly awakened, and in March, 1816, a bill passed the assembly directing the immediate commencement of the canal. The more conservative senate insisted on further surveys and estimates, to which the assembly assented. The same summer a route was surveyed from Buffalo to the Genesee, which was substantially the same as that finally adopted.

In July, 1816, the first bank in Erie county was organized, and named the Bank of Niagara. The whole capital was the immense sum (for those times) of five hundred thousand dollars, but the amount required to be paid down was modest enough, being only six dollars and twenty-five cents on each share of a hundred dollars. The directors were chosen from a wide range of country—being Augustus Porter, of Niagara Falls; James Brisbane, of Batavia; A. S. Clarke, of Clarence; Jonas Williams and Benjamin Caryl, of Williamsville; Isaac Kibbe, of Hamburg; Martin Prendergast, of Chautauqua county; Samuel Russell and Chauncey Loomis (exact residence unknown), and Ebenezer F. Norton, Jonas Harrison, Ebenezer Walden and John G. Camp, of Buffalo. Isaac Kibbe was the first president, and Isaac Q. Leake the first cashier.

In those days probably a man *might* move in the first circles without his name being either Ebenezer, Jonas or Isaac, but those were certainly the fashionable appellations.

Probably it had no perceptible influence on the destiny of

Erie county, yet it seems worth mentioning that in November, 1816, Marshal Grouchy and suite, returning from Niagara Falls, came to Buffalo and then visited the Seneca Indian village. It is interesting to pause a moment from chronicling the erection of log-taverns and the election of supervisors, to contemplate the war-worn French marshal, (the hero of a score of battles, yet half-believed a traitor because he failed to intercept the march of Blucher to support Wellington at Waterloo,) soothing his vexed spirit with a visit to the greatest of natural wonders, and then coming to seek wisdom at aboriginal sources, and exchange compliments with Red Jacket and Little Billy.

Doubtless the renowned Seneca orator arrrayed himself in his most becoming apparel, and assumed his stateliest demeanor to welcome the great war-chief from over the sea, and doubtless he felt that it was he, Sagoyewatha, who was conferring honor by the interview. An anecdote related by Stone shows how proudly the sachem was accustomed to maintain his dignity.

A young French count came to Buffalo, and, hearing that Red Jacket was one of the lions of the western world, sent a messenger inviting the sachem to visit him at his hotel. Sagoyewatha sent back word that if the young stranger wished to see the old chief, he would be welcome at his cabin. The count again sent a message, saying that he was much fatigued with his long journey of four thousand miles; that he had come all that distance to see the celebrated orator, Red Jacket, and he thought it strange that the latter would not come five miles to meet him. But the chief, as wily as he was proud, returned answer that it was still more strange that, after the count had traveled all that immense distance for such a purpose, he should halt only a few miles from the home of the man he had come so far to see. Finally the young nobleman gave up, visited the sachem at his home, and was delighted with the eloquence, wisdom and dignity of the savage. Then, the claims of etiquette having been satisfied, the punctilious chieftain accepted an invitation to dine with his titled visitor at his hotel.

The same year, several Senecas were taken to Europe to be shown, by a speculator called Captain Hale. The principal ones were the Chief So-onongise, commonly called by the whites Tommy Jemmy, his son, Little Bear, and a handsome Indian

called "I Like You." Jacob A. Barker, son of Judge Zenas Barker, went along as interpreter. The speculation seems not to have been a success, and Hale ran away. An English lady, said to have been of good family and refined manners, fell desperately in love with "I Like You," and was with difficulty prevented from linking her fortunes to his. After his return, the enamored lady sent her portrait across the ocean to her dusky lover. There have been many such cases, and sometimes the woman has actually wedded her copper-colored Othello, and taken up her residence in his wigwam or cabin.

Among the farmers, the peculiar characteristic of 1816 was that it was the year of the "cold summer." Though sixty years have passed away, the memory of the "cold summer" is still vividly impressed on the minds of the surviving pioneers.

Snow fell late in May, there was a heavy frost on the 9th of June, and all through the summer the weather was terribly unpropitious to the crops of the struggling settlers. There had been a large emigration in the spring, just about time enough having elapsed since the war for people to make up their minds to go West. Forty families came into the present town of Holland alone, and elsewhere the tide was nearly as great.

An overflowing population and an extremely short crop, with no reserves in the granaries to fall back on, soon made provisions of all kinds extremely high and dear. The fact that there is little or no grain in store always makes a failure of the crop fall with treble severity on a new country, as has been seen in the case of drouth in Kansas and grasshoppers in Nebraska. How closely the reserve was worked up in this section may be seen by the fact that on the 17th of August, 1816, just before the new crop was ground, flour sold in Buffalo for $15.00 a barrel, and on the 19th there was not a barrel on sale in the village.

The new crop relieved the pressure for a while, but this ran low early in the winter, and then came scenes of great suffering for the poorer class of settlers. In many cases the hunter's skill furnished his family with meat, but in a large part of the county there had been just enough settlement to scare away the game. There is no proof that any of the people actually starved to death, but there can be no doubt that the weakening from long privation caused many a premature death.

Fortunate were the dwellers where the deer were still numerous. There were many in the vicinity of the Cattaraugus creek. Josiah Thompson, now of Holland, was a famous hunter of those days, residing in the east part of Concord, now Sardinia. He told me that in the winter after the "cold summer," when many families were almost starving, the men would come to him for the loan of his rifle to kill deer. But, like many hunters, he held his rifle as something sacred. His invariable reply was that he would not loan his rifle, but would willingly kill a deer for the seeker, and did so again and again.

He stated that he had frequently, after killing deer all one day, had a good sled-load to draw in the next day. Not only deer but bears and wolves fell before his unerring rifle. On one occasion he met five bears and killed three of them. But his most remarkable feat was when, as he asserted, he went out after supper and killed eighteen deer before quitting for the night. I didn't ask him when he ate supper.

During the cold summer the Indians tried to produce a change by pagan sacrifices. Major Jack Berry, Red Jacket's interpreter, a fat chief who usually went about in summer with a bunch of flowers in his hat, said that to avert the cold weather his countrymen burnt a white dog and a deer, and held a grand pow-wow under the direction of the medicine men—but the next morning there was a harder frost than ever before.

Notwithstanding the adverse weather, the large emigration produced some progress even in 1816. In the present town of Alden, Amos Bliss opened the first tavern in that year. Seth Estabrooks brought in a cart-load of groceries, etc., and set up as the first merchant, in a one-roomed log-house, a few rods south of the main road, on what is now called the Mercer road.

Gen. Warren built another frame tavern at the east end of Willink village. His younger brother, Asa Warren, moved from Aurora to Eden, settling first at a place now called Kromer's Mills, two or three miles eastward from Eden Center, where he built a grist-mill and saw-mill, becoming one of the leading citizens of the town.

About the same time, or a little earlier, Erastus Torrey, with his younger brothers, located at what is now called Boston Corners, but which for many years was known as Torrey's Corners.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1817 AND 1818.

Wandering Polls.—Officers.—Formation of Boston.—First Cargo of Flour.—Furs.—A Presidential Visitor.—Terrible Roads.—The Four-Mile Woods.—Starving Indians.—Father Spencer.—A Revival.—Beginning the Canal.—Progress Here and There.—Lost and Frozen.—Four New Towns.—Willink Destroyed.—Political Complications.—A Youthful Congressman.—Wearers of Epaulets.—The "Walk-in-the-Water."—The "Horn Breeze."—Religious Improvement.—A Church Building.—Wright's Mills.—Springville.—Wales Emmons.—A Wonderful Battle.—John Turkey's Victory.

The migratory character of the ballot-box, sixty years ago, is well illustrated by the journeyings of that of the town of Buffalo in 1817. On the 29th day of March, at 9 a. m., the polls were opened at the house of Frederick Miller, at Williamsville. At 5 p. m. they were adjourned to the house of Anna Adkins, on Buffalo Plains. They opened there the next morning at nine, and at twelve adjourned to the house of Pliny A. Field, at Black Rock. At 5 p. m. they were adjourned to the house of Elias Ransom, in the village of Buffalo, where they remained during the next day, March 31st.

The assemblymen elected were Isaac Phelps, Jr., of Willink, (Aurora,) and Robt. Fleming, of the present county of Niagara.

The known supervisors for 1817 were Erastus Granger of Buffalo, Otis R. Hopkins of Clarence, Isaac Chandler of Hamburg, and Silas Estee of Eden.

The town of Boston, with its present boundaries, was formed from Eden on the 5th day of April, 1817. It comprised the whole of township Eight, range Seven, except the western tier of lots, which was left attached to Eden. It was organized the next year, with Samuel Abbott as the first supervisor and young Truman Cary as one of the board of assessors.

Cattaraugus county was separately organized in the summer of 1817. Shortly afterwards Samuel Tupper, first judge of Niagara county, died, and ere long these changes caused a reor-

ganization of the Court of Common Pleas, by which William Hotchkiss, from the present county of Niagara, was named as first judge, with five associates; of these Oliver Forward, Chas. Townsend, Samuel Wilkeson and Samuel Russell were from the present county of Erie.

I give a list of justices of the peace appointed in 1817, which I have chanced to meet with, though henceforth it will be impracticable, for lack of room, to include those increasing conservators of the law. They were James Wolcott, Jonathan Bowen, Isaac Wilson, C. Clifford, Seth Abbott, Amos Smith, John Hill, Nathaniel Gray, Salmon W. Beardsley, Gad Pierce, Morton Crosby, Frederick Richmond, Rufus Eaton, Burgoyne Camp, Elijah Doty, James Sheldon, Ezra St. John, Alexander Hitchcock, Rufus Spaulding, Simeon Fillmore and Luther Barney. When I wrote the first draft of this chapter, I mentioned that of all that list only Alexander Hitchcock, of Checktowaga, survived. Before the revision for the press took place, he too passed away. One of the number, James Sheldon, father of the present Judge Sheldon, was a young lawyer who had lately settled in Buffalo, forming a partnership with C. G. Olmsted, who had been there a little longer.

The open boat Troyer, which came into port about the middle of July, 1817, brought the pioneer cargo of breadstuffs from the West, being partly loaded with flour from Cuyahoga. This was the feeble beginning of a trade which now rivals that of many an independent nation.

Yet it was many years after that before the commerce in western breadstuffs became of any considerable consequence. Half the vessels still came down the lake empty. One week six or seven arrivals were in ballast. Furs still constituted the principal shipments, in value, from the West, and in the summer of 1817 a vessel bearing the curious name of "Tigress and Hannah" brought the largest and most valuable lot ever shipped at once from the West, estimated to be worth over a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It comprised five hundred and ninety-four packages of beaver, otter, muskrat, bear and buffalo skins, of which three hundred and twenty-two packages belonged to John Jacob Astor.

A notable event for this frontier county was the first visit of

a President of the United States. President Monroe, having spent a day at the Falls, came up the river on the 9th of August, accompanied by General Jacob Brown, commander-in-chief of the army. He was met below Black Rock by a committee of eminent citizens, and escorted to Landon's hotel. There was an address by the committee, a brief, extemporaneous reply by the illustrious guest, the usual hand-shake accorded to our patient statesmen, and then the President embarked the same evening for Detroit. It was noticed by the press that the President had then "already been more than two months away from Washington," and his western trip and return must have consumed nearly a month more.

The distinguished visitor was certainly not detained to greet the people of Tonawanda, for that now flourishing burg had then not even made a start in the race for success. Mr. Urial Driggs, who as a boy passed through there in that year, says there was nothing there but an old log-tavern and a rope-ferry. There were, however, two or three log houses on the north side.

Early in 1817 a post-office was established at Black Rock, James L. Barton being the first postmaster.

Even at this period there was only a tri-weekly mail from and to the East, the stage leaving Buffalo Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 5 o'clock a. m. These were the days of terrible roads, in both spring and fall. In summer the big coaches bowled along easily enough over hill and dale, the closely-packed passengers beguiling the time with many a pleasant tale, until "stage-coach stories" have become famous for their wit and jollity. But woe to the unlucky traveler, doomed to a stage-coach experience in spring or fall. That he should be required to go on foot half the time was the least of his troubles. His services were frequently demanded to pry the coach from some fearful mud-hole, in which it had sunk to the axle, with a rail abstracted from a neighboring fence, and through pieces of wood it was often thought best to take a rail along. "To go on foot and carry a rail," and pay for the privilege besides, was a method of stage-riding as celebrated as it was unpleasant.

Erie county had something more than its full share of such highways, as the reservations in it had no roads that were even tolerable. Frequent were the complaints of the Cayuga Creek

road, the Buffalo road, the Big Tree road, etc., but the climax of despair was only reached at the "Four-Mile Woods," on the lake shore, a little this side of Cattaraugus creek.

Old settlers tell wonderful stories of the Plutonian depths to which the mud reached in that dreadful locality. The historian of Evans insists that it was there and nowhere else that the story originated of the traveler who, while passing over a horrible road, descried a good-looking hat just at the top of the mud. Picking it up, he was surprised at being denounced by some one underneath, for taking a gentleman's hat off his head without leave. On offering to help the submerged individual out, he was still more astonished when the latter declined on the ground that he couldn't leave the horse he was riding, which was traveling on hard ground. All agree that this event ought to have happened in the "Four-Mile Woods," whether it did or not.

The Indians on the various reservations had suffered quite as severely as any one from the effects of the "cold summer." Their game had been largely driven away by settlement around them, their own small crops had been destroyed by frost, and even their annuities were reduced in actual value by the high price of provisions. The schoolmaster, Mr. Hyde, made a public appeal for help, declaring that there was great actual want.

At this time the few Onondagas received about six dollars each, while the Senecas, numbering seven hundred, received about two dollars and a half to each individual. Part of this came from an annuity of five hundred dollars a year, being the principal consideration for Grand Island, their claim to which they had sold to the State a short time previous.

In passing, it may be mentioned that that island was entirely unoccupied except by a few "squatters," who had located there principally for the purpose of cutting staves out of the State's timber. These gradually increased in number, and as it was not yet fully decided whether the island belonged to the United States or Canada, and also because it was very difficult to reach the interlopers, they did about as they pleased.

Some of the Indians cut wood for the Buffalo market, receiving a trifling pay in flour and pork. Some of them obtained credit for provisions, and Mr. Hyde declared that they were honest and punctual in paying their debts. He said that after

doing so they would have just about enough left of their annuities to buy their seed. He got little help from the people, who had slight patience with Indian peculiarities. The Presbyterian synod of Geneva, however, furnished some aid, and some way or other the Indians worried through.

At this time the Presbyterians, including the Congregationalists, with whom they were united for church work, were the leading denomination of the county, so far as any could be said to lead, though the Methodists, led by that enthusiastic young preacher, Glezen Fillmore, were rapidly gaining upon them. I have before spoken of "Father Spencer," who was a Congregational minister acting under the Presbyterian synod. I find his traces everywhere, especially south of the Buffalo reservation. Almost every old settler, whatever his religious proclivities, has a story to tell of Father Spencer, a short, sturdy man, on a big, bob-tailed horse, riding from one scattered neighborhood to another, summer and winter, preaching, praying, organizing churches, burying the dead and marrying the living; a man full of zeal in his Master's cause, but full also of life and mirth, ready to answer every jest with another, and a universal favorite among the hardy pioneers.

He, himself, would not admit being thoroughly beaten in jest save in a single instance. His big horse was almost as noted as himself. One day, when the roads were terrible, he was resting the animal by going on foot ahead, leading him by the bridle. The little man trudged sturdily along, but the horse, being old and stiff, hung back the full length of the reins. Passing through a little village, a pert young man suddenly called out:

"See here, old gentleman, you ought to trade that horse off for a hand-sled; you could draw it a great deal easier."

Father Spencer thought so too, and made no reply, but he kept the big horse, and used to tell the story on himself with great zest. I heard it from half a dozen informants. This proves that there were some saucy young men in those days, and also that people could get a great deal of enjoyment out of a very moderate joke.

In 1817, I find the first account of anything resembling a revival of religion. On one Sunday eight members were admitted into the Presbyterian church in Buffalo, and a writer con-

gratulates the public that "through this section of this lately heathen country the spirit of the Lord and the spirit of the Gospel are extending far and wide." The same writer is delighted with similar results attained in "the towns of Willink, Hamburg and Edon, where lately the spirits of the evil one enchained the hearts of many." The year 1817 was also notable in the history of the State for a measure deeply affecting the interests of Erie county; viz., the passage of a law actually directing the construction of a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie. Previously all had been uncertain; now the work was made as sure as legislative enactment could make it. The first ground was broken near Rome, on the 4th of July of that year.

Among the scattered signs of progress in this year, which I have chanced to meet with, I find that John C. Rogers, the enterprising builder of the first saw-mill in Alden, in 1817 also erected the first grist-mill. My authority for this and several other statements regarding that town is the "Oddaographic," an odd and graphic little sheet published at Alden village.

About this time the Willink "Smith's mills" were sold to James and Robert Griffin, and the place has ever since borne the name of "Griffin's Mills," or "Griffinshire." James Griffin was a man of considerable prominence and was supervisor of Aurora two or three years. Adams Paul also set up a store there near the same time, perhaps a little earlier, which he kept for nearly thirty years.

In this year, also, Leonard Cook, who still survives, residing upon Vermont Hill, opened the first store in the present town of Holland, at what is now Holland village.

That same fall there occurred in that locality one of those events which most strongly excite the feelings of a frontier settlement, and furnish a subject of conversation for scores of years afterwards.

On the eastern side of Vermont Hill, nearly east from the embryo village, lived John Colby, a young settler, some thirty years of age, with a wife and two small children. Like many others he had been severely straitened by the "cold summer" of 1816, and had barely struggled through the succeeding winter. By the autumn of 1817, he obtained a cow and one or two young cattle.

When the first snow of the season came, in the month of November, Colby's cattle and those of a neighbor strayed away, and the two started out in search of them. The neighbor found his and returned home, while Colby continued on in search of his own.

All day and all night his wife expected his return, but he came not. More snow fell during the night. The next morning the news was sent around the neighborhood that John Colby must be lost. The log dwellings of the settlers on the hill were widely scattered, but the news spread rapidly and a goodly number of hardy, active men were soon assembled. The snow of the last night had not entirely obliterated the track of the wanderer, and the searchers followed upon it.

For awhile it pursued the direction in which Colby was probably seeking his cattle. At length, however, it got among the hills and ravines southward from the site of Holland village, and then it would appear as if the traveler had entirely lost track of home, and had wandered aimlessly among those forest-covered steeps. Very likely night had overtaken him before he entered among them.

His friends pursued among the gorges his devious pathway, barely discernible under the new-fallen snow. So tortuous had been his wanderings that, though the searchers pressed on with all practicable speed, the forenoon passed and the afternoon waned ere they discovered aught but the half-covered track of the missing man.

At length, a little before nightfall, as the party was approaching the settlements on Cazenove creek, the leader discovered, curled up at the foot of a tree and covered with snow, something resembling a human form. All quickly gathered around, and there lay John Colby, dead, only a short distance from the clearing and house of a settler.

It would appear that, having once lost his way, he had become entirely unable to adopt any line of action. When night came on he had wandered about at random among the hills and ravines, growing colder and weaker as he went. Had the obvious expedient of following a stream of water down hill suggested itself to him, it would soon have carried him to a clearing, but nothing of the kind seems to have come into his mind.

So he had struggled on, and at length, toward morning, had leaned against a tree to rest, and then, overcome by cold and fatigue, had fallen down in a heap at its foot.

Every event of that kind was pretty sure to be celebrated in rhyme by some rude versifier of the forest. One Simeon Davis was the poetic genius of that locality, and ere long he had turned the mournful story of poor John Colby into verse. No less than two hundred and forty lines were produced by the facile poet, and these being reduced to writing by some admirer, (for Simeon himself was destitute of that accomplishment,) were copied, and repeated, and sung in many a frontier home for more than a score of years.

The year 1818 was distinguished by the creation of four new towns, and the annihilation of the oldest one in the county. On the tenth day of April an act was passed forming the town of Amherst out of Buffalo. It comprised the present towns of Amherst and Cheektowaga, and nominally extended to the center of the reservation.

Five days later the town of Willink, the organization of which dated back to 1804, was stricken from existence. From its former magnificent proportions, rivaling those of a German principality, comprising at one time a strip eighteen miles wide by a hundred long, at another a space twenty-seven miles by thirty-five, it had been reduced to a block twelve miles square, and was now about to suffer annihilation.

Whether the settlers had some special grudge against the worthy Amsterdam burgher who was the recognized head of the so-called Holland Land Company, or whether they thought his name lacking in euphony, I know not, but they determined, so far as they could, to get rid of "Willink." Petitions were sent to the legislature, and on the 15th of April the necessary law was passed.

Township Eight, in range Five, and township Eight, in range Six, were formed into a new town named Holland, comprising the present towns of Holland and Colden. It could hardly have been dislike of the Holland Company that led to the casting off of the name of "Willink," for Holland must have received its appellation purely out of compliment to that company. Nothing could well have been more unlike the half-

submerged plains at the mouth of the Rhine than the narrow valley, precipitous hillsides, and lofty table-lands of the new town.

There was more propriety in the name of "Wales," which was given to another new town, composed of township Nine, range Five, with the nominal addition of half the reservation-land opposite. Its hills, though not so lofty, were numerous enough to give it a strong resemblance to the little principality which overlooks the Irish channel.

Finally, by the same act, the remainder of Willink (viz., the ninth township in the sixth range and the adjoining reservation-land,) was formed into a town by the name of Aurora. As it contained a larger population than either of the others, it has usually been considered as the lineal successor of Willink, but the law simply annihilated the latter town and created three new ones.

The known supervisors for 1818 were Charles G. Olmstead of Buffalo, Otis R. Hopkins of Clarence, Richard Smith of Hamburg, Samuel Abbott of Boston, and John March of Eden. The new towns were not organized till the next year.

Early in 1818 S. H. Salisbury retired from the Gazette, a fact which I notice in order to mention that his farewell address of fifty-two lines was the longest editorial which had at that time appeared in Erie county. In a few months H. A. Salisbury became sole editor and proprietor. He changed the paper's name to "The Niagara Patriot," and announced that in future it would be a Republican sheet.

It will be observed that the name "Republican" was still applied to the party which had of old borne that appellation, but which had recently been more often called "Democratic." This was during what has been termed the "era of good feeling," when the Federal party had almost entirely disappeared and no new one had taken its place. The Republican, or Democratic, party was in full possession of the national field, but in local matters it frequently split into factions, which waged war with a fury indicating but little of the "good feeling" commonly supposed to have prevailed.

In this congressional district the regular Republican convention nominated Nathaniel Allen, from the eastern part, and Al-

bert H. Tracy, the young lawyer of Buffalo. Isaac Phelps, Jr., of Aurora was renominated to the assembly, along with Philo Orton of Chautauqua county. Forthwith a large portion of the party declared war against the nominees. The cause is hard to discover, but there was a vast amount of denunciation of the "Kremlin Junta." By this it is evident that the original "Kremlin block" was already in existence, having doubtless been thus named because built amid the ruins of Buffalo, as the Kremlin was rebuilt over the ashes of Moscow. It was there that the "Junta," consisting of Mr. Tracy, Dr. Marshall, James Sheldon and a few others, were supposed to meet and concoct the most direful plans.

Ex-Congressman Clarke was the leader of the opposing faction. Ere long an independent convention nominated Judge Elias Osborne, of Clarence, for the assembly, against Phelps, but seem to have been unable to find candidates for Congress. The old members, John C. Spencer and Benjamin Ellicott, declined a renomination, but were voted for by many members of the anti-Kremlin party. The Patriot was the organ of the Clarke-Osborn faction, while the Journal fought for Tracy and Phelps. Dire were the epithets hurled on either side. No political conflict, over the most important issues of the present day, has been more bitter than this little unpleasantness during the "era of good feeling." At the election in April, Tracy was chosen by a large majority, and Phelps by twenty-three. The former was then but twenty-five years of age, barely old enough to be legally eligible to Congress, and considerably the youngest member who has ever been elected in this county..

A law was passed this year abolishing the office of assistant-justice, restricting the number of associate-judges to four, and requiring a district-attorney in every county. Under this statute Charles G. Olmsted was the first district-attorney of Niagara county.

Asa Ransom, who had been four times appointed sheriff, made his final retirement in 1818, and James Cronk, of what is now Newstead, was commissioned in his place.

Passing from the stirring conflicts of political life to the peaceful scenes of the militia-encampment, we find that in the same year Brigadier-General William Warren was appointed major-

general of the twenty-fourth division, Colonel Ezra Nott being made brigadier in his stead. Elihu Rice was Nott's brigade major, Earl Sawyer his quartermaster, and Edward Paine quartermaster of another brigade.

By this time no less than four regiments of infantry had been organized within the present county of Erie, and, as the law had recently been changed, each had a colonel, lieutenant-colonel and one major. The field officers of the 17th regiment, the one north of the reservation, were James Cronk, colonel; Calvin Fillmore, lieutenant-colonel; and Arunah Hibbard, major. Cronk's office was soon vacated by his appointment as sheriff, when I suppose Fillmore and Hibbard were promoted.

Those of the 170th regiment, apparently comprising only the old town of Willink, (Aurora, Wales, Holland and Colden,) were Sumner Warren, colonel; Lyman Blackmar, lieutenant-colonel; and Abner Currier, major. Of the 48th regiment, in the towns farther west, Charles Johnson was colonel; Asa Warren, lieutenant-colonel; and Silas Whiting, major. Farther south was the 181st regiment, of which Frederick Richmond was colonel; Truman White, lieutenant-colonel; and Benjamin Fay, major.

Besides these the 12th regiment of cavalry and the 7th regiment of artillery had a representation in the county, as I find the name of Hawxhurst Addington, of Aurora, as captain in the former, and Reuben B. Heacock, of Buffalo, in the latter. We were a very military community in those days.

A hundred and thirty-nine years after the gallant La Salle entered Lake Erie with the pioneer sail-vessel, there occurred at the same point a similar event, which, though lacking the heroic and romantic elements of the earlier scene, was yet a matter of intense interest to a great number of people.

In the previous November two or three capitalists had come from New York to Black Rock, and caused to be laid the keel of the first steamboat which any one had ever attempted to build above the great cataract. In the spring the work was pressed forward, and on the 28th of May, 1818, the new vessel was launched amid the acclamations of a host of spectators. It received the appropriate and striking name of "Walk-in-the-Water," partly because it did walk in the water, and partly in

honor of a great Wyandot chieftain who once bore that peculiar cognomen.

The new steamer was ready for use about the middle of August, and then occurred a reproduction of La Salle's experience, with an element of the ludicrous superadded. Again and again the Walk-in-the-Water essayed to steam up the rapids into the lake, and again and again it was compelled to fall back, its engines not being strong enough for the purpose.

At length, after several days of unavailing trials, the owners, to their intense mortification, were compelled to apply to Capt. Sheldon Thompson, of Black Rock, for the loan of his celebrated "Horn Breeze," that is to say, of the dozen yoke of oxen used to drag sail-vessels up the rapids, and which, as before mentioned, the sailors had dubbed by that peculiar title.

On the 23d of August another trial was made. The "Horn Breeze" was duly attached by a cable to the vessel, and steam was generated to the utmost capacity of the boilers. The stokers flung wood into the fire-places, the drivers swung their whips, and with steam-power and ox-power combined the vessel moved slowly up the rapids.

Ere long the difficulty was passed, smooth water was reached, the "Horn Breeze" was detached, and thus, a hundred and thirty-nine years and sixteen days after the Griffin first ploughed the waters of Erie, the Walk-in-the-Water inaugurated the second great era of lake navigation.

Religious improvement steadily continued. A Presbyterian church, the first in the present town of Lancaster, was organized on the 7th of February, 1818, at the "Johnson school-house," on the site of Lancaster village, under the name of the Cayuga Creek church. It was composed of five males and eight females, Rev. Jas. H. Mills being the officiating minister, and was the fruit of the revival of the previous year, which was continued during the succeeding summer. Before the infant church was a year old, it numbered thirty-one members.

Notwithstanding the large and growing population of the county, there was not a solitary church-building within its limits, excepting the log meeting-house of the Quakers at East Hamburg. In 1818, however, that energetic young servant of Christ, Glezen Fillmore, after serving nine years as a local preacher,

was regularly ordained as a Methodist minister, at the age of twenty-eight, and appointed to a circuit comprising Buffalo and Black Rock, and a wide region northward from those villages.

On arriving at Buffalo he found just four Methodist brethren! The Presbyterians held services in the court-house, and the Episcopalians in a building which, though private property, was used as a school-house. At first Mr. Fillmore preached in the latter place, by permission of the owner, at sunrise and at early candle-light. Besides this he preached twice at Black Rock, making four services every Sabbath, and on week-days met fourteen appointments in the country. His salary was seventy-five dollars the first year,

Some difficulty arising, he was denied the privilege of preaching in the school-house. It was determined to build a church. A lot was leased on Tuscarora (Franklin) street, and a church twenty-five feet by thirty-five was begun on the eighth of December, 1818. Mr. Fillmore assumed the responsibility for everything. As he expressed it afterwards, "I had no trustees, no time to make them, and nothing to make them of." His people, however, contributed according to their means, he wrote to a zealous Methodist in New York who collected and sent him a hundred and twenty dollars, and Joseph Ellicott gave him three hundred. On the 24th day of January, 1819, just forty-seven days after it was begun, the church was dedicated.

Near this time, though at a warmer season, the whole Methodist church of Buffalo rode out to a quarterly meeting in Clarence, in one lumber wagon. Fortunately for the horses there were but seven members.

At the same time improvements were taking place in every direction. The forest was being constantly swept away, and every little while a new grist-mill or store marked another step toward the condition of older communities.

In most cases the details have not come down to us, but occasionally I have been able to get hold of an item showing the course of progress.

A grist-mill was built at what is now Evans Center, in 1818, by a man named Wright, who had previously had a saw-mill there. A few houses were built around, and for a long time the little settlement was known as "Wright's Mills."

Springville had by this time probably a dozen houses, and Mr. Rufus Eaton became so impressed with its prospects that he procured a surveyor to make a regular map of it, several of the streets then laid down corresponding with those of the present day. Drs. Daniel and Varney Ingalls, two brothers, came there about this time, and began practicing medicine, being the first regular physicans. A Dr. Churchill had practiced before, without a diploma.

The place of a lawyer was supplied by Wales Emmons, a cabinet-maker, who had settled there the year before, whose services in justices' courts were in wide demand, and whose many pranks are still the theme of jovial rehearsal. One of the stories represents him as being employed by the defendant in an action brought before a justice some miles from Springville. Seeing that there was no defense, and knowing the dullness of the magistrate, Emmons rode over to his residence a day or two before the time appointed for the trial, and informed him that the defendant had concluded to withdraw the suit and pay the costs. To this the worthy justice assented, received the money, and noted the withdrawal in his docket.

On the appointed day the plaintiff, with his counsel, (also an amateur,) appeared, when the justice benignantly informed them that the defendant had withdrawn the case and paid the costs.

"Withdrawn the case," roared the pettifogger; "what do you mean? The defendant can't withdraw the case."

"But he *has* withdrawn it," replied the justice, with dignity, for he felt as if his word was disputed; "he *has* withdrawn it and paid the costs, and it is so entered on my docket, and I will have nothing more to do with it."

The counsel advised a suit before another justice, but the unlucky plaintiff had had experience enough, and settled with Emmons' client on the best terms he could obtain.

Notwithstanding the march of improvement, (as shown by such courts of justice,) the fierce denizens of the forest still prowled in large numbers around the frontier cabins.

Numerous combats took place between them and their human antagonists, but there was one battle, which came off near the beginning or close of 1818, of such a remarkable character as to deserve especial notice. In fact I doubt if all the annals of

that kind of warfare can show a solitary instance of greater coolness, courage or success than was seen on the occasion of which I am speaking. It beats even the exploit of Philip Conjockety in killing the two panthers, which I thought sufficiently audacious.

So remarkable were the circumstances, that I hesitated to believe this story until investigation convinced me of its truth. I have heard it from several different sources, and, though they vary slightly as to details, yet as to the main points there is no dispute. The following account of it is derived from a comparison of the different stories, though the most direct statement comes, through Mr. George Wheeler, from Mr. Isaac Hale of North Collins, who was a boy of fourteen, residing near where the event occurred. It is corroborated by John Sherman, Esq., an old resident of the same place.

An Indian on the Cattaraugus reservation one day discovered the trail of three panthers in the deep snow. Not desiring to meet such game as that himself, he notified another brave, named John Turkey, one of the celebrated hunters of the tribe. As the latter told it: "Me sick when he come; me well quick when he tell about panther."

Turkey took his gun and accoutrements and started alone in pursuit. He followed the trail about six miles to the head of "Big Sister Swamp" in the present town of North Collins, two or three miles southeastward from the village of that name. There he came to two or three large trees, turned up by the roots and lying close together. Looking beyond them he saw no tracks, and at once concluded that the animals were concealed there.

Turkey put two balls in his mouth, took the stopper out of his powder-horn, cocked his gun and approached. Suddenly a panther sprang out on to one of the trees, while two others were heard below; all making a noise which Turkey describes as resembling the caterwauling of a score of tabbies, fifty times increased. I infer from the story, though it is not directly stated, that the first was an old one, and the others not quite full grown.

Instantly leveling his gun, the hunter fired with so true an aim that the panther fell dead to the ground. The two others sprang out on the farther side, raising a yell that resounded afar through the forest. Turkey reloaded almost in a second, pouring in

plenty of powder without measuring, and snatching a ball from his mouth and dropping it into the muzzle, without a patch and without ramming. "Mebbe," said he, "ball go half way down ; mebbe not." At the same time one of the young panthers sprang on the trees and came toward him. Again he leveled his weapon and the second enemy fell dead. The third one had attempted to follow the first, but had struck his breast against the farther tree, fallen back, and then turned to go around the tops. This gave Turkey time to reload in the same expeditious manner as before. He had hardly done so when number three came around the tops, jumped on a log, and prepared to spring. Just as he was doing so, Turkey fired for the third time. The animal was fatally wounded in the neck, but came on. Turkey sprang aside, the panther stopped, and the Indian was about to strike him with his clubbed rifle when he saw him stagger. He gave him a push with the muzzle of his gun, when the animal immediately rolled over and expired.

By this time it was nearly dark, and as Turkey was not very well he did not purpose to travel any more that evening. So he scooped away the snow between the trees, laid down hemlock boughs for a bed, put some more across the two trunks for a shelter, and thus made himself thoroughly comfortable for the night, with his dead enemies all around.

The next morning he skinned his game, shouldered the pelts with the heads attached, and went some three miles southwestward to Hanford's tavern, at Taylor's Hollow. Hanford, or some one else, gave him a certificate on which he obtained the bounty paid by the town for panthers. He then took them to Buffalo, and it is said obtained a county bounty also. Passing through Hill's Corners, (Eden Center,) he showed the three scalps to the children as they came out of school. I have talked with those who saw them there, and the various stories from which I have compiled the foregoing account differ only in some minor details. It was certainly one of the boldest exploits ever performed, and fairly entitles John Turkey to especial mention in the annals of the brave.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1819 AND 1820.

The "Grand Canal."—The Harbor Company.—Supervisors, etc.—Strong Language.—The International Boundary.—An Indian Council. Pagans and Christians.—Red Jacket's Question.—Another Execution.—"The People of Grand Island."—A Small Rebellion.—Troops ordered out.—The Squatters Removed.—A Sad Dilemma.—Governor Clark.—Clintonians and Bucktails.—Tracy Reëlected.—Other officials.—The Harbor Begun.—Wilkeson turns Engineer.—His Services.—New Post-Offices.—Dr. Colegrove.—Niagara Agricultural Society.—Town-Managers.—Another Church.—The Amateur Engineer becomes a Judge.—Three New Towns.—New Use for a Psalm-Tune.

This chapter will be extended a little beyond the years named in its title; it being most convenient to include the three months of 1821 previous to the formation of Erie county.

More and more the "Grand Canal," as it was generally called, (the name "Erie" was not at first applied to it,) attracted general attention. At Buffalo and Black Rock, in particular, the question as to which should be the terminal point became of the deepest interest. It was plain that the chances of the former must be gravely injured by the fact that it had no harbor, and steps to build one were taken by ten of the principal citizens. Of ready money there was almost none in the village. The State passed a law to loan twelve thousand dollars for the required purpose, to be secured by the bonds and mortgages of individuals for twice that amount. If the State officials should approve the harbor when finished, they had the privilege of taking it and cancelling the indebtedness; if not, the company would have to pay the bonds and reimburse themselves out of tolls.

These hard conditions caused all the managers to withdraw, except Charles Townsend, George Coit and Oliver Forward. The last of 1819 Samuel Wilkeson joined with them, and then the State's offer was accepted. Wilkeson, Forward and Townsend (with whom Coit was associated) gave their separate bonds and mortgages, each for eight thousand dollars. No work, how-

ever, could be done till the next year. It seems strange to learn that, as Judge Wilkeson afterwards stated, no one ever thought of applying to the general government to do a work so plainly belonging to it as that.

Like almost everything in this country the canal question found its way into politics. Candidates were interrogated as to their position, and in this part of the State a charge of infidelity to the "Grand Canal" was the most damaging that could be brought.

Oliver Forward was elected to the assembly in the fall of 1819, along with Elial T. Foote, of Chautauqua county. Heman B. Potter was appointed district attorney, and Dr. John E. Marshall county clerk. The new towns created the year before were organized in 1819, Gen. Timothy S. Hopkins being elected the first supervisor of Amherst, Ebenezer Holmes of Wales, and Arthur Humphrey of Holland; Aurora unknown. Those from the other towns were Elijah Leach of Buffalo, Otis R. Hopkins of Clarence, Abner Wilson of Hamburg, John March of Eden, and John Twining of Boston; Concord unknown.

Though politics were rather quiet at this time, there were other subjects in which vigorous language could be used. Said a writer on the Patriot one day, replying to a previous one in the rival sheet: "Some citizen, in the Journal, with a malignity well worthy of a denizen of the lower region, has been kind enough to empty the Augean stable of his bosom on the late cashier of the Bank of Niagara."

"Augean stable of his bosom" is about as strong an expression as can be found in the vocabulary of any modern vituperator.

There were some bad boys then, too, as well as now, if one may judge from the terms in which one individual described his absconding apprentice. Apprenticing was more common then than now, and there were a good many advertisements of runaways. But a return of the levanting youth was probably not much desired by the master who offered "one cent reward" therefor, describing him as about twenty years old, and adding: "He has light complexion, knavish look, quarrelsome disposition, knows more than anybody else, and is a great liar and tattler."

In the forepart of 1819 the boundary commission, coming from the east, established the line between the United States and Canada along the Niagara, and in July passed on to the west end of Lake Erie. Gen. Porter was the American, and Col. Ogilvie the English commissioner. The principal surveyor on the part of the Americans was William A. Bird, (the well-known Col. Bird, of Black Rock,) who had just succeeded to that post, having previously been assistant.

The sovereignty of Grand Island was first decisively settled by this commission, though previously claimed by the United States. It was found by actual measurement of depth, width and velocity that the main channel of the river was on the Canadian side. There passed on that side 12,802,750 cubic feet of water per minute; on the American side 8,540,080 cubic feet rolled by in the same time. To prove the accuracy of these measurements, the quantity passing Black Rock per minute was calculated by the same method, and found to be 21,549,590 cubic feet, or substantially the same as the sum of the amounts at Grand Island.

As, however, the determination of the "main channel" was held by some to involve other considerations than the amount of water, it is possible that Grand Island would not have fallen to the Americans had not a large island in the St. Lawrence just been awarded to Canada. All the small islands in the Niagara were also, on account of their location, assigned to the Americans, except Navy island, which fell to Canada.

In the summer of 1819 a strong effort was made by the pre-emption-owners to induce the Indians to sell the whole or a part of their lands. A council was held on the Buffalo reserve, at which were present a commissioner on the part of the United States, one on the part of Massachusetts, Colonel Ogden and some of his associates, and all the principal chiefs of the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas.

After the United States commissioner had explained the object of the council, and had submitted two propositions, both looking to the sale of the Buffalo Creek reservation, Red Jacket, on the 9th of July, "rekindled the council fire" and made a long speech. As usual he went over the whole ground of the intercourse between the white men and the red men, and declared

most emphatically as the voice of his people that they would not sell their lands, no not one foot of them. Warming with his subject, the indignant orator declared that they would not have a single white man on their reservations—neither workman, school-master nor preacher. Those Indians who wished could send their children to schools outside, and those who desired to attend church could go outside the reservation to do so.

He added bitterly that if Colonel Ogden had come down from heaven clothed in flesh and blood, and had proved that the Great Spirit had said he should have their lands, then, and then alone, they would have yielded.

Afterwards Captain Pollard and thirteen other chiefs apologized to the commissioner for the language of Red Jacket. Captain Pollard declared that he saw nothing to admire in the old ways of his people, and wished for civilization and Christianity. But all were united in opposing the sale of any of their lands, and nothing was effected to that end.

By this time two distinct parties had been developed among the Indians. One favored Christianity and improvement, among whom Captain Pollard was the most prominent. Captain Strong, a distinguished chief on the Cattaraugus reservation, also announced himself a Christian. The other faction was devoted to paganism, and resisted every attempt at change, of whom Red Jacket was the unquestioned leader.

The great orator had become more and more bitter against everything in anywise pertaining to the white race—except whisky. He was doubtless sincere in the belief that the adoption of white customs would work the destruction of his people, and he fought them at every step. He could see the evil wrought through the excessive use of liquor, of which he was himself a most conspicuous example; he could see that since the arrival of the whites the once mighty Iroquois had dwindled to a few feeble bands dependent on the forbearance of their conquerors, and he could not, or would not, see anything else.

Even in minor matters he detested the laws of the whites, and derided their justice. Not far from the time of which I am speaking, an Indian was indicted at Batavia for burglary, in entering Joseph Ellicott's house and stealing some trifling article. Red Jacket and other Indians attended the trial, and the latter

obtained permission to address the jury on behalf of the prisoner (of course through an interpreter). He boldly questioned the jurisdiction of the court, declared that the Senecas were allies, not subjects, of the United States, and said that Indians who committed offenses should be tried by their own laws; asserting that if accused persons should be delivered to them they would be so tried and, if guilty, duly punished.

The culprit was, however, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life, which was then the penalty for burglary. At the same time a white man who had stolen a larger amount than the Indian, but without the accompaniment of burglary, was sentenced to only a few years imprisonment. This was a new cause of disgust to the chieftain, who in his youth had lived in a wigwam, to whom a house had none of the sacredness that it has to a white man, and in whose mind, consequently, the crime of theft was not enhanced by that of burglary.

Going from the court-house to the tavern, after the session, in company with some lawyers, the old sachem observed the State coat-of-arms painted over the door of a newspaper-office. Pointing to the representation of Liberty, he mustered his little stock of broken English and inquired:

"What—him—call?"

"Liberty," replied one of the legal gentlemen.

"Ugh!" exclaimed the chieftain, in a tone of derision. Then he pointed to the other figure on the coat-of-arms and again asked:

"What—him—call?"

"Justice," was the reply.

Red Jacket's eye flashed and his lip curled, as he slowly asked, in a tone of mingled inquiry and sarcasm:

"Where—him—live—now?"

Very likely the sachem knew as well as his companions what the figures represented, and asked the questions merely to make a point.

In December, 1819, the second execution for murder took place in the present county of Erie. The crime, however, was committed outside its limits, having been the murder of a soldier of the garrison of Fort Niagara, by Corporal John Godfrey, who was impatient at his dilatory movements.

Again the people assembled in throngs, again the militia companies guarded the prisoner, and again the sonorous tones of Glezen Fillmore rolled out deep and strong, as he preached the funeral sermon of the doomed man.

But probably the most important event of the year occurred on Grand Island. The stave-cutting squatters, heretofore mentioned, had been so little disturbed by the civil authorities, (partly because of the difficulty of reaching them, and partly because it had not been quite determined whether the island belonged to the United States or Canada,) that they had grown to consider themselves a kind of independent nation.

They set up a sort of government of their own, under which they settled whatever difficulties may have arisen among themselves, but bade defiance to the authorities on both sides of the river. A Mr. Pendleton Clark, one of the squatters, was recognized as "governor" by his fellows, justices of the peace were elected, and precepts were actually issued "in the name of the people of Grand Island."

On one occasion a constable crossed to the island to arrest one of these squatter-sovereigns, when several friends of the culprit assembled, put the officer back in his boat, took away his oars and set him adrift on the river. He might very likely have been carried over the Falls, had he not been rescued by a more humane outlaw, living farther down the stream, and taken to the American side.

Then the authorities of the State, to which all the land belonged, thought it was time to clear out this nest of offenders. In April, 1819, an act was passed requiring them to leave the island, and in case they did not the governor was authorized to remove them by force. To this they paid no attention.

In the fall the governor sent orders to remove the intruders, to Sheriff Cronk. That official transmitted the orders to the transgressors, with directions to leave by a specified day. Some obeyed, but over many cabins the smoke continued to curl as saucily as before.

The sheriff then called out a detachment of militia, under Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Benjamin Hodge, of Buffalo, and prepared to vindicate the laws by force. On the 9th of December, Lieutenant Hodge, with Lieutenant Stephen Osborn, of

Clarence, (afterwards sheriff,) and thirty rank and file, marched down the river from Buffalo to a point opposite the head of the island, to which they crossed by boats, landing about 5 o'clock p. m. The first sergeant of the company was Nathaniel Wilgus, who wrote an account of the expedition for the Buffalo Historical Society, to which I am indebted for many of the facts here related.

Rumors of resistance having been rife, muskets were loaded with ball-cartridges, and guards and pickets duly stationed ere the men encamped for the night. As nearly all the squatters were on the western side of the island, the command was marched over there the next morning. It was then divided into three parties; a vanguard to read the governor's proclamation and help to clear the houses where the parties were willing to leave, a main body to forcibly remove all persons and property remaining, and a rear-guard to burn the buildings.

The boats, which were manned by sailors from the lake, had come around the head of the island, and were in readiness to convey the families to the United States or Canada, as they might choose. With one exception they all preferred Canada. Perhaps they had come from this side, and had good reasons for not wishing to return.

That day was occupied in removing people to Canada and burning houses. The next day was devoted to the same work, but there was one case that was peculiar. Dwelling in a comfortable log house, the sheriff found a man and woman living together, who begged piteously to be allowed to remain. They could not make choice between the United States and Canada, for the man said he had a wife living in the former country, and the woman had a husband in the latter. The good-natured sheriff appreciated the terrors of the dilemma, and, on their promising to leave as soon as they could see a clear path of escape, he gave them permission to remain a while on their island home, and even furnished them with two quarts of whisky to relieve the tedium of solitude.

On the next day (the 12th) the party found an old Irishman named Dennison, who with two sons and some helpers was busy putting up houses. He claimed the right to remain, and told the sheriff he had discovered the secret of perpetual motion, in

which he would give Colonel Cronk a half interest if the latter would let him stay. The colonel told him to put his "perpetual motion" in use, and leave the island at once.

Two more days were devoted to the removal of families and the destruction of buildings, making five days spent on the island by the "army of invasion," besides the time occupied in going and returning. About seventy houses (occupied and unoccupied) were destroyed, and a hundred and fifty-five men, women and children transported to the mainland. Nearly all were desperately poor, and Mr. Wilgus stated that he did not remember of seeing a cow or a hog on the island. There were only about a hundred acres of clearing, all told. While crossing the island, on their return, the troops found one of the precepts before mentioned, "in the name of the people of Grand Island," fastened to the door of a deserted building.

The last house visited, and the only one on the eastern shore, was that of "Governor" Pendleton Clark, who had already placed his effects on a scow preparatory to removal. He went to the American side, and not long after bought a tract of land at the point where the Erie canal was expected to enter Tonawanda creek. Here in time a village was built to which he gave his own first name—Pendleton—and of which he was long a respected citizen.

Such is a condensed history of the only civil war (and that a bloodless one) ever known within the bounds of Erie county. A few of the dispossessed parties soon returned, but as they kept very quiet, and were careful not to draw attention to themselves by committing any depredations, they were permitted to remain for several years. Among them was "perpetual motion" Dennison, who for fifteen years clung to his possession, and insisted on the value of his "motion," with amusing pertinacity.

By the beginning of 1820 the Clintonian and Bucktail parties were in full blast all over the State. Clinton was of course the leader and candidate of the former, which claimed, and generally received, the benefit of the strong canal feeling which prevailed. The latter had to some extent the benefit of the regular Republican organization, and nominated Vice-President Tompkins for governor.

Clinton was elected by a large majority, though his opponent

had a few years before been the most popular man in the State. In the present county of Erie, Clinton received seven hundred and thirty-seven votes, to three hundred and ten for Tompkins. Boston gave thirty-five votes for Clinton, to one for Tompkins; Aurora a hundred and sixty-four for Clinton, to twenty for Tompkins; Wales a hundred and twenty-six for Clinton, to twenty-seven for Tompkins; and Concord a hundred and twenty-eight for Clinton, to twenty for Tompkins.

The Patriot was the organ of the Bucktails, the Journal of the Clintonians. It should be remembered that there was still a property qualification, which accounts for the small vote. It seems, too, that fraudulent voting was not an unheard of offense in those days, for the Patriot charged that neither Aurora nor Wales had a hundred legal voters, although the former polled a hundred and eighty-four votes, and the latter a hundred and forty-seven.

The assemblyman this year was Judge Hotchkiss, from north of the Tonawanda. The young congressman, Albert H. Tracy, was again elected to the national legislature, as the candidate of the Clintonians. Judge Oliver Forward, of Buffalo, was elected to the State senate, and took a very active part in promoting the canal, and bringing it to Buffalo.

The supervisors chosen in 1820 were Ebenezer Walden of Buffalo, Oziel Smith of Amherst, Otis R. Hopkins of Clarence, Lemuel Wasson of Hamburg, James Aldrich of Eden, John Twining of Boston, Ebenezer Holmes of Wales, and Arthur Humphrey of Holland. Isaac Phelps, Jr., of Aurora, was appointed a judge of the Common Pleas.

One hardly ever thinks of slavery as having existed in Erie county, and in fact slaves were extremely rare there, even when the institution was tolerated by law. Yet I think there had been two or three colored people permanently held in bondage, besides those brought here by officers during the war. The law of 1818 decreed the gradual abolition of slavery, providing that males under twenty-eight and females under twenty-five should remain slaves until those ages, and allowing none but young slaves to be brought from other states; in which case the owner was obliged to file an affidavit that they were only to be kept till those ages respectively. The only case in this county under

the law, of which I am aware, occurred in 1820. Gen. Porter married a Mrs. Grayson, of Kentucky, daughter of Hon. John Breckenridge, attorney-general of the United States under Jefferson, and aunt of the late John C. Breckenridge. She brought five young slaves to Black Rock, and a certified copy of the affidavit of herself and husband, under the above mentioned law, is now on file in the old town-book of Buffalo. It is surrounded on all sides by records of town-elections, stray heifers and sheep's ear-marks, among which this solitary memento of a powerful but fallen institution has a curious and almost startling appearance.

It was not merely by voting for Clinton that the Buffalonians sought to build up their town. The all-important work of constructing a harbor was begun. A superintendent was hired at fifty dollars a month! Cheap as were his services, however, it was soon found that his estimates were too liberal for a twelve-thousand-dollar fund, and he was discharged. No one, however, knew where a better man could be found, and none of the company knew anything about building a harbor.

Rather than see the work stop, Mr. Wilkeson abandoned his own business and accepted the superintendency. Once installed he pushed on the work with even more than his wonted energy. The laborers' wages were increased two dollars a month above the ordinary price, to induce them to work in the rain, and then, in all weather, superintendent and subordinates were seen at their task.

I have read several reminiscences of that critical period of Buffalo's history, and all agree that to Samuel Wilkeson, more than to any other one man, the city is indebted for its proud commercial position. If Ellicott was its founder, Wilkeson was certainly its preserver.

In the spring of 1820 a new mail-route was established, running from Buffalo to Olean, with three new offices in this county—one at "Smithville," more commonly called Smith's Mills, one at "Boston," generally known as Torrey's Corners, and one at "Springville," still in common parlance called Fiddler's Green. Ralph Shepard was the first postmaster at Smithville, Erastus Torrey at Boston, and Rufus C. Eaton at Springville.

A post-office had already been located on the lake shore, in

the present town of Evans, but under the name of Eden, which was then the appellation of the whole town. James W. Peters was the first postmaster.

Although there was as yet nothing in the shape of a village, nor even a post-office, in Sardinia, yet in 1820 a young physician established himself there, who soon acquired wide renown in the healing art. This was Dr. Bela H. Colegrove, who located at what has since been called Colegrove's Corners. As a surgeon, especially, his reputation in time became equal to that of almost any one in Western New York, and he was often called in difficult cases, not only in Erie and the adjoining counties, but as far south as Pennsylvania. He was prominent, also, in political life, and showed himself in all respects a leader among men.

In 1820 the first daily mail was established between Buffalo and Albany. The year was also noteworthy for the holding of the first agricultural fair, an important event in those days. It was under the management of the Niagara County Agricultural Society, which had been organized the fall before.

Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, who had been little heard of for a long time, was its president. The vice-presidents were Arthur Humphrey, Asher Saxton, Ebenezer Goodrich, Ebenezer Walden and James Cronk; the secretary was Joseph W. Moulton; the treasurer, Reuben B. Heacock; and the auditor, Heman B. Potter.

There was also a board of town-managers, consisting of three in each town, which may be presumed to have comprised some of the leading men, especially farmers, in their respective localities. These were Elias Ransom, Adial Sherwood and Elijah Leach, of Buffalo; William W. Morseman, David Eddy and Abner Wilson, of Hamburg; Isaac Phelps, Jr., Jonathan Bowen and Ephraim Woodruff of Aurora; Richard Buffum, Asa Crook and Samuel Corliss, of Holland; Ethan Allen, Ebenezer Holmes and Henry B. Stevens, of Wales; John Hill, Benjamin Bowen and John March, of Eden; Belden Slosson, Alexander Hitchcock and Abram Miller, of Amherst; L. Parmely, M. Cary and Daniel Swain, of Boston. I can find no representation of either Clarence or Concord.

The list of premiums offered is noticeable for some seldom

found on modern catalogues—which in fact would hardly find takers if offered. As for instance—for the best fifteen yards of woolen cloth, "made in the family," ten dollars; which is as large as the premium offered for the best two acres of wheat. For the best worsted cloth, "made in the family," six dollars. For the best fine linen, "made in the family," six dollars.

For a long time the fair of the Agricultural Society was one of the great events of the year. Everybody, high and low, attended, and the proceedings were closed with a ball, which was graced by whatever of aristocracy was to be found in the county.

The first Episcopal church-building, and the third of any kind in the county, was St. Paul's. The society of that name, at Buffalo, erected a neat edifice in 1820, with a gothic tower and spire, which was consecrated by Bishop Hobart the next February.

Almost an entire new set of officers was appointed in February, 1821. Samuel Wilkeson was made first judge of the Common Pleas, and Samuel Russell, Belden Slosson, Robert Fleming and Henry M. Campbell, judges. John G. Camp was appointed sheriff; Roswell Chapin, surrogate; and James L. Barton, county clerk.

The selection of Mr. Wilkeson for the office of "first judge" had been strongly opposed by some, on the ground that he was not an attorney. He was, however, earnestly supported by his friends, and after his appointment his native common sense, firmness and diligence enabled him to fulfill his duties acceptably to the community.

By the census of 1820 the population of the whole of Niagara county was 23,313, of which 15,668 were in the present county of Erie. These numbers were considered sufficient to justify a division, and the northern part of the county was anxious to have its business transacted nearer home than Buffalo; a desire which was gratified by the legislature of 1821.

Just before the division of the county, three new towns were created. By a law of the 16th of March, 1821, all that part of Eden comprised in township Eight, range Nine, was formed into a new town named Evans. This was a little larger than an ordinary township, being nearly nine miles east and west on its

southern boundary, and thence narrowed by the lake to about four miles and a half on its northern boundary.

By the same law the excessively long town of Concord was subdivided into three towns. That part comprised in townships Six and Seven, range Eight, and in three tiers of lots on the west side of townships Six and Seven, range Seven, was formed into a new town named Collins. That part comprised in township Seven, range Five, and three tiers of lots on the east side of township Seven, range Six, and in the portion of township Six, range Six, north of Cattaraugus creek, was formed into a new town named Sardinia.

Collins was named by Turner Aldrich, the most prominent of the old settlers, after his wife's maiden name. General Nott states in his reminiscences that he named Sardinia after his favorite psalm-tune. He says that "Concord," "Wales" and "Sardinia" were all well known tunes in the old psalm-book, "Sardinia" being his especial delight. Seeing that "Wales" and "Concord" were immortalized by their names being given to towns, he determined that his own favorite should receive equal glory. So he claimed his privilege as the oldest resident, and succeeded in getting the new town named Sardinia.

CHAPTER XXX.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The New County.—Niagara Perpetuated.—Change of Characteristics.—Change of Names.—White's Corners.—Abbott's Corners.—A Black Wolf.—An Effective Blow.—A Curious Couple.—A Wolf's Strategy.—Trapped and Slain.—An Impromptu Gallows.—Pigeons.—Black Rock.—Condition of Buffalo.—Some of its Lawyers.—Anecdotes of John Root.

On the second day of April, 1821, a law was passed, enacting that all that part of the county of Niagara north of the center of Tonawanda creek should be a separate county, by the name of Niagara, while the remainder should thenceforth be known as Erie.

Thus at length was formed and named the great county, the annals of which I have the honor to record. It had the boundaries specified in the first chapter, and those boundaries it has ever since retained.

As stated in chapter eighteen, the old county of Niagara was perpetuated in most respects in the county of Erie rather than in the one that bore the ancient name, since the former retained more than half the area, two thirds of the population, the county seat, the county records and most of the county officers. In every respect except the name, Erie is a continuation of old Niagara, organized in 1808, while the present Niagara is a new county, organized in 1821.

Doubtless the reason for giving the old name to the smaller and less important county was because the great cataract, which makes Niagara's name renowned, was on its borders, and it was felt that there would be an incongruity in conferring the name on a county which, at its nearest point, was three miles distant from the famous Falls. (Even this is probably nearer than most people suppose, but it is a trifle less than three miles from the cataract to the lower end of Buckhorn island.)

The reader and the author have now arrived at a turning point in the history of the county. Not only was its name changed,

but it so happens that that change is very closely identical in time with an important change in its general character. Hitherto it had been a pioneer county. Henceforth it might fairly be called a farming county.

There was no particular year that could be selected as the epoch of change, but 1821 comes very close to the time. Previously the principal business had been to clear up land. As a general rule, there was little money with which to build comfortable houses, little time even to raise large crops, except in a few localities. After a time not far from 1821, although there was still a great deal of land-clearing done, yet it could not be called the principal business of the county.

The raising of cattle and grain for market assumed greater importance, and in fact from that time forward, the county taken as a whole, though still a *newish* country, would hardly be called a *new* country. Yet there were a few townships almost entirely covered with forest, and everywhere the characteristics of the pioneer era were closely intermingled with those of a more advanced period.

Probably the most conspicuous manner in which the change was manifested to the eye was by the material of the houses. Hitherto, log houses had been the dwelling-places of nearly all the people outside of the village of Buffalo. Even the little villages, which had sprung up in almost every township, were largely composed of those specimens of primeval architecture.

But with improved circumstances came improved buildings. After the time in question, a majority of the new houses erected in the county were frames, and every year saw a rapid increase in the proportion of that class of buildings over the log edifices of earlier days.

When Erie county was named it contained thirteen towns. At that time there were but ten post-offices in it, but there were several others established a little later. The ten were situated at Buffalo, Black Rock, Williamsville, Clarence, Willink, Smithville, Barkersville, Boston, Springville, and Eden. The Eden post-office, as has been said, was in Evans, on the lake shore. That of "Barkersville" was at the old Barker stand in Hamburg, at the "head of the turnpike." "Willink" was at Aurora village.

Besides these there had been one, and probably there was still one, called "Hamburg," at John Green's tavern.

Although the post-office at what is now Hamburg village had been called "Smithville," yet the name never stuck, and even the old one of "Smith's Mills" began to fade away. Thomas T. White had lately settled at that point, engaging heavily in business, the Smiths had sold their mills to other parties, and ere long the place began to be known as "White's Corners." This was its only name for over forty years, and it is still generally known by it, notwithstanding its present legal title, "Hamburg."

Mr. Seth Abbott also moved to the place previously known as "Wright's Corners," not far from this time, and built a large public house there. His son, Henry Abbott, engaged in trade there, the old name fell into use, and for over half a century the little village has been known only as Abbott's Corners.

At most of the post-offices mentioned, there was the nucleus of a village, but there was none at "Barkersville," nor at the "Eden" post-office, in Evans. Whatever of metropolitan possibilities there were in the latter town manifested themselves at "Wright's Mills," which ere long began to be called "Evans Center," but where there was as yet no post-office.

There were also the nuclei of villages, but without post-offices, at "Cayuga Creek" (Lancaster), Alden, Hall's Mills (or Hall's Hollow), Holland, Griffin's Mills, East Hamburg and Gowanda.

Notwithstanding these signs of improvement, and the general transformation of the county from a land-clearing to a land-tilling district, the farmers met with incessant discouragement. Keeping sheep was their especial difficulty, yet sheep must be kept, for there was no money to buy clothes. The wolves were almost as troublesome in peace as the Indians in war.

Besides the gray-backed prowlers, an occasional bold, black wolf was seen, though very rarely. One, which had killed over fifty sheep in Lancaster, came into the open fields within a furlong of Mr. Clark's house in the day time, and caught another. Young James Clark and his brother saw the raid but were unable to prevent its successful execution. They, however, set a trap for the dark slayer, and had the good fortune to catch him.

The bounty then was ten dollars. Afterwards it was, in some towns, from sixty to ninety dollars; whelps half-price. An

Indian is reported to have made $360 in one forenoon, catching young wolves. It was generally supposed that many hunters, both Indians and whites, were in the habit of letting old she-wolves escape—in fact of guarding against their discovery by others—in order to get an annual revenue from the whelps. In this case it was the wolf that laid the golden eggs.

On several occasions the citizens in different parts of the county got up grand wolf-hunts, forming long lines and beating the woods for miles, or trying to enclose them in circles, but I have heard of none that were successful. The "Anaconda System" did not work any better then than in later years. The wily marauders always found a loop-hole of escape.

While these elaborate preparations usually failed, one of these public enemies was frequently slain by the simplest means. A Mr. Patterson, living a little south of Mr. Oren Treat's, in Aurora, is said by that gentleman and others to have killed one, near 1820, at a single blow. Hearing a noise in a kind of outside pantry attached to his house, he picked up an unloaded gun and ran out. A big wolf jumped out of the pantry window. With all his might Patterson struck him with the breech of his gun, and his wolfship fell to the ground. On bringing a light the old musket was found to be broken short off at the breech, and the wolf lay stone dead; the single, well-directed blow having broken his neck.

But the most remarkable of these primitive raiders, and the only one for whose exploits I have further room, was an old she-wolf which infested the territory of Collins and North Collins. According to Messrs. Wheeler and Hale before mentioned, Mr. George Southwick, of Gowanda, and others, she was a marauder of most surprising intelligence and accomplishments.

In that she slaughtered sheep, she was like the rest of her race. But her especial *forte* was to form an intimate acquaintance with most of the large dogs of the vicinity. Those that she could not tempt into forbidden paths she fought with and whipped, and thus she was mistress of the situation so far as the canine race was concerned.

Her most particular friend was a dog belonging to Levi Woodward, in the present town of North Collins. This canine Antony and lupine Cleopatra would roam the fields at night

in company, killing sheep by the dozen, and retire to the swamps in the day-time. Frequently a number of men would turn out and follow them, but without avail, and they would perhaps come back the very next night and kill more sheep.

The dog occasionally came around his master's house, but it was thought best not to kill him, as it was hoped he might be used to cause the destruction of the more dangerous offender. So a bell was put on him, and he was left to seek the company of his mistress, the project being that when that bell was heard at night some one should get up and kill the wolf.

But she would never go by a house in his company. The bell has been heard coming along a road, toward a lonely house, when the owner would arise and wait, with loaded rifle, the appearance of the great marauder. But presently the dog would go trotting along, alone. The next morning it would be seen by the tracks that, while the dog trotted carelessly by, the wolf had gotten over the fence some distance from the house, gone around, and reëntered the road on the other side.

At length the people of the neighborhood three miles southward from North Collins became satisfied that she had a litter of whelps in the vicinity, and thought they could at least capture them, even if the old one was too much for them. They made up a company of fourteen, which searched the woods until at length the prize was found in a lair made in the boughs of a basswood, which had been felled for browse.

Seven puppy-whelps, half-dog, half-wolf, were taken from the lair, and just as the last one was drawn out, the maternal head of the family put in an appearance, a short distance away. The men seized their guns, but, ere one of them could take aim, the madam comprehended the situation and vanished in the forest.

The scalps of her unfortunate family were taken to Springville, and thirty dollars apiece received for them from the proper officials, sixty dollars being the bounty on full-grown wolves. Young Hale, who was one of the party of fourteen, received fifteen dollars for his share. Since the whelps were only half-wolf, a question might have been raised by casuists as to whether the captors were entitled to more than half the usual bounty, but since both father and mother were sheep-killers, probably the officials thought the spirit of the law was complied with.

Madam Wolf did not return to that neighborhood, but established herself on the farm of Samuel Tucker, about a mile from North Collins, and began to make her accustomed raids. Mr. T. determined to ensnare her, but knew that she had always avoided traps with remarkable skill, and therefore took extra precautions. Having killed a calf, he placed a part of it in a cornfield, putting in the midst of the bait a common fox-trap which had been dipped in melted tallow, and heavily coated with that material. This destroyed the smell of the iron, and the gray depredator was at last outwitted and caught. A heavy clog being attached to the trap, she was unable to drag it away, and daylight revealed her misfortune to her enemies.

Word was sent out, and the men and boys from miles around assembled to see the dreaded foe of the sheepfold. She was slain amid universal rejoicing, and Mr. Tucker received sixty dollars for her scalp.

Her canine friend met with a still more ignominious fate. One Sunday he ventured to approach a house whence all the family had gone to a Quaker meeting, save one woman. Recognizing the sheep-slayer, she determined on his destruction, but having no fire-arms, or not knowing how to use them, she was obliged to depend on strategy.

First she arranged a rope into a slip-noose. Next she pulled down the long, heavy well-sweep and fastened it to the curb. Then giving the dog some food, she invited him up to the well, managed to slip the noose over his neck, fastened it to the small end of the sweep, and loosened the sweep from the curb. The heavy end went down with a rush, and in an instant the sheep-killer was hanging a dozen feet above the ground.

Besides the four-footed wild game, pigeons were a frequent resource in their season, especially for the Indians. Not merely the few that can be shot as they fly, but the vast numbers that can be obtained from their nests. The banks of the Cattaraugus were celebrated as their resorts, and a little west of Springville, on both sides of the creek, there were millions of nests.

The whole tribe used to go out from Buffalo creek to get a supply. They were obtained by cutting down the trees, and of this, as of all other work, the squaws at that time did the greater part. Mr. C. C. Smith, of Springville, says he has seen the

squaws cut down trees from two to three feet through, getting fifty or sixty nests from one tree. Each nest contained a single "squab," that is a fat young pigeon, big enough to eat, but not big enough to fly. Occasionally, but very rarely, there were two in a nest. These were scalded, salted and dried by the thousand, furnishing food most acceptable to the Indians and not despised by the whites.

While the country was thus divided between raising crops, starting villages and hunting game, the embryo city at the head of the Niagara was beginning to make rapid progress. At the time of the formation of Erie county it had nearly two thousand inhabitants.

Black Rock, too, which had long remained an insignificant hamlet, was now rapidly advancing, and was making desperate efforts to secure the termination of the grand canal. General Porter had returned home from his work of locating the international boundary, had resumed a portion of his former influence, and was the leader of the Black Rock forces in their contest with Buffalo.

As Black Rock still had the only harbor in the vicinity, as not a ship was built at, nor sailed from, any other American port within a hundred miles, her chances of success appeared good, and the little village grew even faster than Buffalo. It was mostly situated on Niagara street, at the foot of the hill north of the site of Fort Porter.

In Buffalo, the main part of the business was transacted on Main street, between Crow (Exchange) street and the courthouse park. There were also numerous residences in the same quarter. Other dwellings, more or less scattered, occupied parts of Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Tuscarora streets, for these were still the appellations of the highways now known respectively as Ellicott, Washington, Pearl and Franklin. There were also a few dwellings on the cross-streets. The town was supposed to be rich enough, and the people gay enough, so that some one had built a place of entertainment called the Buffalo Theater, but there are indications that it was not very largely patronized.

Near Chippewa market there was a swampy place, and a gully carried its waters toward the river, crossing Main street

near Chippewa. All the northeastern part of the present city was low ground, unoccupied and untilled. Not far up Busti avenue (Genesee street) there was a log causeway, whither the girls and boys went in summer to pick the blackberries growing beside it.

As far up as Cold Spring, an irregular line of forest came up to within from forty to a hundred rods of Main street. About this time, or a little later, after a grand squirrel-hunt, lasting all one day, the two parties of hunters, which had been led by two young lawyers, Frederick B. Merrill and Joseph Clary, met the next day to count their game at a spring near Delaware street, just north of Virginia. They selected that place because there the woods came from the west to Delaware street, affording a pleasant shade.

Mr. Clary was a new addition to the Erie county bar, in which he afterwards took a fair rank. There were none as yet, however, of that remarkable galaxy of lawyers who, fifteen years later, made the bar of Erie county celebrated throughout the State. Albert H. Tracy was probably the peer in intellect of any of them, but he devoted himself largely to politics, and seldom appeared in the legal arena.

Potter, Walden, Harrison, Sheldon, Clary, Moseley, Moulton, and "Old Counselor Root" were the leading practitioners. Sheldon Smith came a little later. Counselor John Root, a big, round-shouldered, slouching man, whose practice was beginning to decline on account of drink and idleness, was the "character" of the Erie county bar in 1820. Two-thirds of the jokes and sharp sayings related by the older members of the bar, are attributed to "Old Counselor Root." As in other cases of a similar kind, it is quite likely that he has been saddled with more than is really chargeable to him, but there is no doubt of his great readiness in repartee and tact in management.

H. W. Rogers, Esq., has collected a number of anecdotes of Mr. Root, in his essay before the Historical Society, entitled, "Wits of the Buffalo Bar." Some of them I will transfer into this "Miscellaneous" chapter, to give a side-light on the men and manners of half a century ago.

He was not inclined to spare even the court, and on one occasion, when somewhat excited by liquor, in commenting on an

adverse decision of the judge, he declared that it could only be compared with the celebrated decree of Pontius Pilate.

"Sit down, Mr. Root, sit down," angrily exclaimed the judge; "you are drunk, sir." The old counselor slowly sank into his chair, saying, in rather low tones, but loud enough to be heard by all around:

"That is the only correct decision your honor has made during the whole term." The court and bar were compelled to laugh, and Root escaped without further censure.

Some time afterwards a young lawyer, who perhaps thought he could be as brusque before the court as the old counselor, received an unfavorable decision with the indignant exclamation that he was astonished at the judgment of the court. He was immediately arraigned for contempt. Finding himself in trouble, he besought Root to help him.

The latter drew himself up to the utmost of his great height, and, in the most solemn and dignified manner, besought the court to pardon the offender.

"I know," said he, "that our brother is to blame. But he is young—quite young. If he had been at this bar as long as I have, your honor, he would long since have ceased to be astonished at any decision which this honorable court might make."

The Court of Common Pleas, in the absence of its first judge, was once held by the senior side-judge. Not being overstocked with brains, and being entirely without experience as a presiding judge, business dragged sadly under his administration. The lawyers made irrelevant motions and interminable speeches, and the court was powerless to control them. One morning the temporary presiding judge and several lawyers, among whom was Root, met in the court-house hall, just before the time for opening court. Something was said about the slowness of the proceedings, when the judge observed: "I only wish some way could be devised for shortening the lawyers' tongues."

"Perhaps, your honor," said the old counselor quietly, "the same object could be effected by shortening the judges' ears."

In those times a *charivari*, or "horning," was the frequent accompaniment of a wedding. On one occasion, occurring in Amherst or Clarence, the father and brothers of the bride resented the advent of the discordant crowd around their home by

firing on them with guns loaded with peas, wounding two or three of the number. For this they were duly indicted and brought to trial. Counselor Root defended them.

One of the wounded persons, a rough, unkempt-looking fellow, testified to the shooting, and to being hit with peas in the calf of the leg. On the cross-examination, Root insisted that he should pull up the leg of his pantaloons and show where he was shot. The witness hesitated but did as requested, displaying a limb thickly covered with dirt. It looked as if it had never known the use of soap or water.

"There" said he, pointing to a spot even more thickly incrusted than the rest, "is where the peas went in."

"And when," queried Root, "did the shooting occur?"

"About six weeks agə," replied the witness.

"Oh, nonsense!" exclaimed the counselor, "if there had been any peas planted in that soil six weeks ago, they would have been four inches high by this time!"

CHAPTER XXXI.

1821 TO 1824.

Official and Postal.—Military and Journalistic.—Dramatic Scenes.—Kauquatau Condemned.—The Flight and the Return.—The Wiles of So-onongise.—The Execution.—The Arrest.—A Primitive Court-room.—The Trial.—Red Jacket's Philippic.—Impotent Conclusion.—Ellicott's Resignation.—The Oldest Physician.—A Sardinia Merchant.—Buffalo Harbor.—Ingenious Channel-Cutting.—A Warlike Pile-driver.—Loss of the Walk-in-the-Water.—A Hazardous Bond.—First Work on the Canal.—New Constitution.—Officers under it.—Other Officials.—Millard Fillmore.—A Vigorous Race.—Alden and Erie.—"Cayuga Creek."—Beginning at Tonawanda.—Other Matters.—An Uneventful Year.—Easier Payments.

In the spring of 1821 Judge Forward was elected to the State senate, but neither of the two assemblymen from this district were residents of Erie county. Roswell Chapin was appointed surrogate in place of Dr. Johnson. Later in the season Samuel Russell was chosen a delegate to the State constitutional convention. The supervisors for the year, so far as known, were Ebenezer Walden of Buffalo, Oziel Smith of Amherst, O. R. Hopkins of Clarence, Ebenezer Holmes of Wales, Lemuel Wasson of Hamburg, James Green of Eden, John Twining of Boston, Mitchell Corliss of Holland, Elihu Rice of Sardinia, and John Lawton of Collins.

A new post-office was established during the year at East Hamburg, with Lewis Arnold as postmaster, and one at Wales, with Wm. A. Burt as postmaster. The latter gentleman had previously begun the business of merchandising in Wales, by selling a few goods in his house, according to the custom before spoken of. From one of the "military commissions" so frequently published at this era, one learns that in 1821, Abner Currier, of Holland, was made colonel, and Josiah Emery, of Aurora, lieutenant-colonel, of the 170th regiment of infantry; Hiram Yaw, of Boston, colonel of the 48th regiment, and Robert Kerr, lieutenant-colonel. About this time Truman Cary resigned a commission as lieutenant-colonel. Necessarily,

I mention only the officers of whom there happens to be a record. Frederick Richmond, of Springville, was a brigadier-general about the same time.

The change of name of the county made it necessary for the two newspapers in it to drop their old appellations. So the Niagara Patriot (whilom the Buffalo Gazette) became the Buffalo Patriot, and the Niagara Journal, the Buffalo Journal.

Scarcely had the county of Erie entered on its separate career, when there occurred within its limits a series of events of startling and dramatic character, which show as vividly as anything in American history how closely civilization treads upon the footsteps of barbarism—how narrow in our country is the space which separates the bloody rites of the savage council from the stately deliberations of the Anglo-Saxon tribunal. The facts in the case are derived from Stone's Life of Red Jacket, the papers of the period, and the reminiscences of Mr. James Aigin.

In the spring of 1821 a Seneca Indian died of some lingering disease, the nature of which was incomprehensible by the medicine-men. They accordingly attributed it to sorcery, and designated as the culprit a squaw named Kauquatau, who had nursed the deceased during his sickness.

A council was assembled, and, after such evidence as the case admitted of, Kauquatau was solemnly pronounced guilty, and sentenced to death. The frightened woman fled to Canada. The Indians were shrewd enough not to attempt her execution there, nor even in the United States, off from their own reservation. Some of them followed her to Canada, and by some means, doubtless by false promises of security, persuaded her to recross the Niagara.

Among her betrayers was the chief, So-onongise, commonly called by the whites Tommy Jimmy, who had been secretly appointed her executioner. On the second day of May, Mr. Aigin states that he saw Tommy Jimmy treating Kauquatau from a bottle of whisky, in the streets of Buffalo. The blandishments of the chieftain and the quality of his liquor were too much for poor Kauquatau, and toward night she accompanied her pretended friend across the reservation line, which, as will be remembered, ran close to the village.

No sooner had she done so than the friend disappeared and the

executioner showed himself. Drawing his knife, Tommy Jimmy seized the wretched woman and cut her throat, killing her on the instant. Then, leaving her on the ground where he had slain her, making no attempt to conceal the body, he strode off to the Indian village, doubtless feeling that he had done his country good service.

The next morning she was found by the whites, lying near Buffalo creek, only a short distance above Pratt's ferry. A coroner's inquest was held, and, as the Indians made no concealment, it was easily ascertained that Tommy Jimmy was the murderer. It appears to have been the first event of the kind which had become known in Erie county, though Mary Jemison says there was scarcely a year passed, while the tribe lived on the Genesee, that one or more persons (generally women) were not killed as witches. The claim of sovereignty over the reservation, set up by the Indians, did not reconcile the whites to the shocking occurrence, and it was determined to bring the slayer to trial.

Stephen G. Austin, then a young lawyer and justice of the peace, issued a warrant. The constable to whom it was first given objected to going out among a tribe of savages to arrest one of their most popular chiefs, and Pascal P. Pratt, uncle of the gentleman who now bears that name, was deputized for the purpose. He was well acquainted with Tommy Jimmy and was a particular friend of Red Jacket.

Pratt found the culprit at the house of the orator. Making known his mission, he advised them to yield peacefully, and make whatever defense they might have, before the courts. Red Jacket pledged himself that Tommy Jimmy should appear before Austin the next day, and Pratt departed, perfectly satisfied that he would come.

Punctually, at the hour appointed, Sagoyewatha and So-onongise came before the young justice of the peace, accompanied by a crowd of other Indians. The whites, also, gathered in numbers, and, as Austin's office was small, he held his court on a pile of timber across the road from it. The slaying was admitted, the jurisdiction of the whites denied, and the victim declared to be a witch, executed in accordance with Indian law. Austin, however, committed the slayer to jail, to take his trial in a higher court.

So-onongise, *alias* Tommy Jimmy, was duly indicted for murder. The Indians obtained the assistance of able counsel, who put in a plea to the jurisdiction of the court, claiming that Kauquatau was executed in accordance with Indian law, on Indian land. This was denied by the district-attorney, and the question was sent to a jury for trial.

Thus it was that at the Erie county Oyer and Terminer, in June, 1821, there occurred one of the most singular trials recorded in legal annals. The court-house was crowded by a motley throng of red men and white men, the latter drawn by curiosity, the former by intense interest in the fate of their brother, and intense anxiety regarding their own privileges. All the lights of the Buffalo bar were there, eager to know how this curious legal complication would result.

Tommy Jimmy, a middle-aged and fairly intelligent Indian, though the center of observation, sat perfectly unmoved, and doubtless considered himself a martyr. By his side was Red Jacket, acting as amateur counsel, and wearing his stateliest demeanor. He still had sufficient self-control to force himself into a few days sobriety on great occasions, and was in full possession of his faculties. When the jurors were called he scanned every man with his piercing eye, formed his opinion as to his bias, and communicated to the regular counsel his decision in favor of acceptance or rejection.

After several other witnesses had been sworn, Red Jacket was put on the stand by the counsel for the accused. The prosecuting attorney sought to exclude him by inquiring if he believed in a God.

"More truly than one who could ask me such a question," was his haughty reply.

When asked what rank he held in his nation, he answered contemptuously:

"Look at the papers which the white people keep the most carefully; they will tell you what I am." He referred to the treaties which ceded the Indian lands to the whites.

Like the other Indians he testified that the woman had been condemned by a regular council, in accordance with immemorial law, and that So-onongise had been duly authorized to execute the decree. Seeing, or imagining, that some of the lawyers

were disposed to ridicule his views of witchcraft, he broke out in a fierce philippic, which, as interpreted, was thus published in the Albany Argus, one of whose editors was present:

"What! Do you denounce us as fools and bigots because we still believe what you yourselves believed two centuries ago? Your black-coats thundered this doctrine from the pulpit, your judges pronounced it from the bench, and sanctioned it with the formalities of law; and would you now punish our unfortunate brother for adhering to the faith of his fathers and of yours? Go to Salem! Look at the records of your own government, and you will find that thousands have been executed for the very crime which has called forth the sentence of condemnation against this woman, and drawn down upon her the arm of vengeance. What have our brothers done more than the rulers of your people? And what crime has this man committed, by executing in a summary way the laws of his country and the command of the Great Spirit?"

As Red Jacket had certainly not read the story of Salem witchcraft, he must have informed himself by conversation before the trial, doubtless for the express purpose of making a well-studied point against the pale-faces. His appearance as he delivered his philippic, his tall form drawn up to its utmost height, his head erect and his black eye flashing with ire, is said to have been impressive in the extreme.

On the question of fact submitted to them, the jury found that Kauquatau was really executed in accordance with Indian law. The legal question still remained as to whether this would exempt him from punishment. The case was removed by *certiorari* to the Supreme Court, where it was argued the ensuing August. The result was a most lame and impotent conclusion of so dramatic a trial. No judgment was rendered. The court, being unable to deny that the Indians had from the beginning been recognized to a certain extent as independent peoples, and yet unwilling to decide that they had absolute authority to commit murder, permitted the discharge of the prisoner by the consent of the attorney-general.

Laws were afterwards passed, subjecting the Indians to the same penalties for crimes as the whites.

In the autumn of 1821 Joseph Ellicott, the founder of Buffalo, resigned the local agency of the Holland Company, which he had held for twenty-one years. There had been considerable

dissatisfaction on the part of the settlers, during the latter years of his administration, but it principally originated in the difficulty of keeping up the payments on their lands, in the hard times succeeding the war. Probably the chief fault of the company and its agents was in permitting men to buy large tracts without any substantial payment in advance, and in letting the occupants get so far in arrears as they did during the first ten or fifteen years. There is nothing like a steady, gentle pressure to stimulate industry and compel frugality. Mr. E.'s mind was still clear, but he had already developed that tendency toward hypochondria which, after five years of inaction, led to the insanity and final suicide of one who had been for two decades the most influential man in Western New York. Jacob S. Otto, of Philadelphia, took his place as local agent.

Among the new comers was one who has had an exceptional career. Dr. George Sweetland, then about twenty-three years old, located himself, in 1821, in the woods where now stands the little village of East Evans, and began practicing as a physician. During all the fifty-five years since that time he has remained at the same place, engaged in the duties of his profession, being now the oldest and earliest practitioner in Erie county. In the earlier part of his professional career, he frequently visited Eden, Hamburg and Collins, riding on horseback as was the wont of country doctors. Sometimes, when the roads were at their worst, he took his saddle-bags on his arm, and went on foot five or six miles to visit a patient. Now, of course, his range is more circumscribed, but he still bravely upholds the banner of Esculapius, which he unfurled fifty-five years ago.

In the same year Chauncey Hastings opened the first store in what is now Sardinia village, and the first of any consequence in the town. There were then but three houses in the "village." He was the only merchant there for over twenty-five years. Afterwards he built a hotel which he kept for an equal length of time, being, as may easily be seen, the principal business man of the town.

As soon as spring opened in 1821, superintendent Wilkeson recommenced work on the Buffalo harbor. The mouth of the creek was sixty rods north of where it now is, the stream run-

ning for that distance nearly parallel with the lake. The ridge between them was found to be of gravel, so solid that it could not be removed, (as was necessary to make a new mouth and a straight channel,) by manual labor, without immense expense. The method adopted was so ingenious as to be worthy of especial mention.

A stout dam was built across the creek just below where it turned to the north. Then a small opening was made in the gravel at the end of the dam next the lake, when the imprisoned water rushed around it, tearing out a great hole in the ridge. Then the dam was advanced still further westward, and the stream removed more gravel. The process was repeated until a straight channel, large enough for small vessels, was cut clear through into the lake.

In this and other parts of the work it was absolutely necessary to have a pile-driver, and impossible to get one of the usual make. So one was improvised for the occasion, the hammer being composed of an old mortar which had been used in the war of 1812. The trunnions were knocked off, and it served the needs of peace better, I am afraid, than it had those of war.

The harbor was completed in the summer of 1821, two hundred and twenty-one working days having been occupied in its construction.

In November, Lake Erie lost the pioneer of her steam-marine, the solitary and celebrated Walk-in-the-Water. Having just left Black Rock one afternoon, and being struck by a squall about four miles above Bird Island, she lay at anchor all night, and the next morning was driven ashore near the light-house. No lives were lost, but the Walk-in-the-Water had sustained such serious injuries that she ceased forever from her aquatic pedestrianism.

Steps, however, were immediately taken to supply her place; and in January, 1822, an agent of an eastern company came on to select a place to build a new steamer, and make a contract for the same. He was directed to build at Buffalo, unless he should be satisfied that its harbor was not available. He went to Black Rock first, and its people soon satisfied him that the new harbor was useless, laying especial stress on the assertion that it would remain filled with ice after the lake was clear in the spring. The

agent thereupon made arrangements to build at Black Rock, and went to Buffalo to have the papers drawn.

The Buffalonians heard what was going on, and an excited crowd gathered around the hotel where he was staying. To have it decided that their harbor was not fit to build a steamboat in might be ruinous. It was rumored that the agent was about to return east the next morning, and no time was to be lost. Judge Wilkeson was deputed to wait on him. His only instructions were to get the steamboat.

"Make any arrangement you think necessary," said the citizens, "and we will stand by you."

The committee of one entered the agent's room, introduced himself, and asked why he did not propose to build at Buffalo, as his principals expected. That gentleman gave the reasons which had prompted his action, naming especially the danger that the steamer would be detained by ice. Wilkeson promptly replied :

"We will furnish timber at a quarter less than Black Rock prices, and give a judgment-bond with ample security, providing for the payment of a hundred and fifty dollars for every day the boat shall be detained in the creek, beyond the first of May."

The offer was at once accepted, the necessary arrangements were made, a contractor was found for the timber, and the bond agreed upon was signed by nearly every responsible citizen. The building of the vessel soon began, and went steadily forward.

As spring approached the citizens looked for a freshet to clear out the loose sand, gravel, etc., which still remained in the harbor. A freshet did come, but, as there was a large bank of ice at the new mouth of the creek, the high water carried an immense amount of sediment upon it, making a formidable dam. Several expedients were tried for removing it, but without avail

Meanwhile the first of May was approaching. At length it was evident that extraordinary exertions must be made, or the citizens would be saddled with a bill for damages on their bond, which at that time would have been enormous. A subscription of $1,361 was raised; a little in cash, the rest in goods or labor. Dr. Johnson subscribed the largest sum, $110, "in goods at cash prices." The other amounts ranged from a hundred dollars

down to two. One man subscribed "a certain brown cow with a white head, to be appraised by the harbor commissioners."

By the energetic use of the aid thus provided, a channel was cut through by the 1st of May. On that day the steamboat, which had been named the "Superior," went down to test it. The work was still incomplete and the channel dangerous, but the pilot was a Buffalonian who thoroughly understood the track; he took the Superior safely through and the bond was cancelled.

All this while there had been a continuous contest between the Buffalonians and Black Rockers, to influence the canal commissioners in the selection of a terminus. The Black Rock men also built a pier to enclose a harbor, and General Porter's influence was strong in favor of his village. In this as in other contests Judge Wilkeson led the Buffalonians, and his arguments before the commissioners and other officials, though perhaps lacking in grace, and delivered with all the energy of the most energetic of men, went straight to the point and were eminently effective.

At length the controversy was decided in favor of Buffalo, and on the 9th of August, 1823, work on the grand canal was begun in Erie county. Ground was broken near the Commercial-street bridge, in Buffalo. There was of course a celebration, including procession, speech-making, etc. The assembled crowd were so eagerly interested in the great work that they did not content themselves with the formal removal of a few spadefuls, but fell in procession behind the contractor's ploughs, and followed them for half a mile, with music playing and cannon firing. "Then," says the account, "they partook of a beverage furnished by the contractor," and afterwards dispersed with vociferous cheers.

During the summer of 1822, a new State constitution was formed, and adopted by the people. By its provisions sheriffs and county clerks were to be elected by the people instead of appointed—each holding for three years. Justices of the peace and district-attorneys were appointed by the judges of the Common Pleas and the board of supervisors, acting conjointly. All other judicial officers were appointed by the governor and senate. Erie, Niagara, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties became the thirtieth congressional district, entitled to one

member. At this time, too, the date of holding elections was changed from April to November.

Accordingly, in the fall of 1822, Wray S. Littlefield, of Hamburg, was elected sheriff, and Jacob A. Barker, of Buffalo, son of the pioneer judge, Zenas Barker, was chosen county clerk. At the same time Albert H. Tracy was elected to Congress for the third time. Considering that he was still on the sunny side of thirty, his success was something astonishing. Ebenezer F. Norton, a Buffalo lawyer, was chosen member of assembly, and about the same time Dr. Josiah Trowbridge was appointed a judge of the Common Pleas. The supervisors for 1822, the records of whose election have been preserved, were Ebenezer Walden of Buffalo, Oziel Smith of Amherst, Otis R. Hopkins of Clarence, Ebenezer Holmes of Wales, Lemuel Wasson of Hamburg, James Green of Eden, John Twining of Boston, Mitchell Corliss of Holland, Benoni Tuttle of Sardinia, and Henry Joslin of Collins.

The military record shows no lack of epauletted gentlemen. The 17th regiment of cavalry was evidently a Buffalo institution, of which, in 1822, S. K. Grosvenor was appointed colonel; David S. Conkey, lieutenant-colonel; and Lucius Storrs, major. Of the 13th regiment of infantry Orange Mansfield (of Clarence) was made colonel; Francis Lincoln, lieutenant-colonel; and George Stow, major. The same commission appointed Earl Sawyer, lieutenant-colonel, and Asa Wells, major, of the 181st regiment of infantry.

Several new post-offices were established this year. One was at Holland, with Lyman Clark as postmaster. One was in Collins, named Angola, (at Taylor's Hollow,) with Jacob Taylor, the old Quaker instructor of the Indians, as postmaster. There was already one in Evans, called Eden, in which town it had originally been included, and in this year there was one established in Eden, with John M. Welch for postmaster, which, by some blunder, was called Evans. These names were soon afterwards transposed so as to give each town a post-office of its own name.

Col. Asa Warren removed to "Hill's Corners" in 1822, and built a large hotel, though in two or three years he gave up keeping it on account of scruples against selling liquor. This

was about the time of the earliest development of feeling on that subject. Fillmore & Johnson had a small store there a little later, the place began to take village shape, and people began to call it "Eden Corners."

The allowance of three post-offices for the single town of Hamburg seems to have been thought altogether too extravagant by the department. So "East Hamburg," "Smithville" and "Barkersville" were all discontinued, and a new office, called "Hamburg," was established at Abbott's Corners, under Harry Abbott as postmaster, as stated in the journals of the day. The old office called "Hamburg," at John Green's tavern, must have been previously discontinued. Another post-office was also established in 1822, at "West Clarence," of which Simeon Fillmore was the first postmaster.

Apropos of that name, it was in the spring of 1822 that a tall young man, of stalwart form, open countenance and pleasing demeanor, came from an eastern county and entered the law office of Joseph Clary. This was Millard Fillmore, the future President of the United States. Born in Cayuga county, at the very beginning of the century, he had passed his boyhood amid the privations of a backwoods farm, and had in early youth learned the trade of a clothier. Approaching man's estate, his aspiring mind had sought more congenial employment in the study of the law. A lawyer who appreciated his abilities gave him some assistance, and the young man supported himself partly by working at his trade, and partly by teaching a country school. Meanwhile his father, Nathaniel Fillmore, had emigrated to Aurora in this county, about the same time that his (Nathaniel's) brother Calvin moved thither from Clarence. Millard, as before stated, followed in 1822, and continued his law studies in Buffalo.

All of the elder Fillmores were men of powerful frame, and all had considerable local prominence, such as is often gained in country-towns by sensible though not highly educated men. Simeon was supervisor of Clarence several years. Calvin was a prominent local politician, a colonel of militia, and at one time a member of the assembly. Millard's father, Nathaniel, was less noted, but was for several years a justice of the peace, and was generally recognized as a man of unblemished integrity and

sound judgment. Of Glezen Fillmore, the son of Simeon, I have spoken at some length before.

Young Millard continued his studies through the summer, and in the winter taught a school at Cold Spring. It is said that the young school-teacher and law-student was recognized as a man of considerable ability, and that some of his admirers predicted that he would yet fill a seat in the State legislature! In the spring of 1823 he was admitted to practice in the county court, and immediately opened an office at Aurora. He was the first lawyer in the county, outside of Buffalo and Black Rock.

Another gentleman in the southern part of the county, whom I must mention on account of his prominence and his long professional career, was Dr. Carlos Emmons, who in 1823 settled at Springville. For nearly half a century he practiced his profession there, besides filling many important positions, and only within the last year has he passed away from life.

Early in that year the legislature erected two new towns from Clarence—Alden and Erie. The former occupied the same territory as now, with the nominal addition of part of the reservation opposite. The name of the latter was afterwards changed to Newstead, and the existence of the previous town of Erie, which was formed in 1804 and obliterated in 1808, has caused remarkable confusion among the statisticians. All the gazetteers, civil-lists, etc., that I have seen, state that the town of Newstead was "formed as Erie, in 1804," whereas the town of Erie, which was formed in 1804, had ceased to exist for fifteen years when the town of Erie which afterwards became Newstead was erected, and the two "Eries" were six miles apart at the nearest point.

The town-records of Newstead were burned a few years ago, but those of Alden have been preserved and show that the first town-meeting was held at the house of Washburn Parker, on the 27th day of May, 1823, when Edmond Badger was elected the first supervisor. It is said that Alden was so designated by one of its citizens after the name of his wife's mother, and was thereupon for several years denominated "Grannytown," by the irreverent youth of the period.

Clarence, after the division, still included the present Lancaster, making a town six miles wide and nearly twenty long.

The south part, however, had grown so that the next winter a post-office was established at the present village of Lancaster, by the name of "Cayuga Creek;" Thomas Gross being the first postmaster.

The grand canal was now fairly under way in this section. All along the banks of the Niagara, from Buffalo to Tonawanda creek, ploughs and spades were busily at work. Early in the winter the commissioners had let the contract for a dam at the mouth of that creek to Judge Wilkeson and Dr. Johnson, and throughout the summer of 1823 those energetic business men kept that locality alive with the noise of a host of laborers. Mr. Wilkeson also established a store there, the first one nearer than Williamsville. Soon afterwards, Tracy, Townsend and other Buffalonians formed a company, bought a tract of land, and laid off a village at that point. This was the beginning of Tonawanda, a place of which large expectations were formed, that waited long for their fulfillment, but which in the last ten years have been amply realized.

The war between Buffalo and Black Rock was at its height in 1823, the champions of the former place being the Buffalo Patriot and the Buffalo Journal, and that of the latter the Black Rock Beacon, which had been started the year before. This was the time when the fortunes of Black Rock reached their climax, its citizens being still inspired by the hope of having a "cut off," which should give them the actual terminus of the canal. It was probably nearly half as large as Buffalo. But thenceforward it stood nearly still, until it was absorbed in Buffalo and began to share its growth.

Buffalo's lack of a harbor had been so fully remedied in 1823 that, on the 12th of July, one of her journals proudly boasted of twenty-nine vessels at her wharves at once. The imports included cedar posts, flax-seed, corn, oats, whisky, maple-sugar, ashes, and ginseng. No wheat nor flour that time—though wheat and flour occasionally came, in small quantities.

In the spring of this year (1823) Mr. Wilkeson resigned his judicial position, and Ebenezer Walden, the pioneer lawyer of the county, was appointed first judge of the Common Pleas. In the fall the ex-judge was selected to represent the county in the assembly.

The undestroyed records show the following supervisors elected in 1823 and '24, nearly all of them serving both years: Buffalo, Josiah Trowbridge; Amherst, John Grove and Oziel Smith; Clarence, Simeon Fillmore; Alden, Edmond Badger; Wales, Ebenezer Holmes; Hamburg, Lemuel Wasson; Eden, James Green and Asa Warren; Boston, John Twining; Holland, Mitchell Corliss; Sardinia, Morton Crosby and Horace Clark; Collins, Stephen White and Nathaniel Knight.

The year 1824 was not an eventful one in Erie county. The canal was nearly finished within the county limits, and only awaited the completion of the great cut through the mountain ridge at Lockport, and some work of less importance on either side. While it was thus in progress its great advocate, DeWitt Clinton, who after being governor many years was then serving as canal commissioner, was removed from that humble but important office through partisan hostility. This ungrateful act roused the intense resentment of a large portion of the people, and in the fall he received an independent nomination for governor, and was triumphantly elected. Erie county remembered her benefactor and gave him a handsome majority.

At the same time Colonel Calvin Fillmore, of Aurora, was chosen to represent the county in the assembly, and Judge Wilkeson was elected to the senate. Daniel G. Garnsey, of Chautauqua county, was elected to Congress. Mr. Tracy declined a renomination for that position, and in the winter was nominated by the State senate for United States senator, though then but thirty-one years of age. The assembly, however, failed to concur, and on a subsequent joint ballot another aspirant was elected. Another weekly paper was established this year, by Lazelle & Francis, called the Buffalo Emporium.

Not far from the time under consideration, certainly during the administration of Mr. Otto as local agent, the Holland Company adopted a system of receiving from the settlers the products of their farms, in payment for land. Agents yearly received cattle at certain advertised points, and endorsed the value thereof on the contracts. Turner states that, while the measure was highly beneficial to the settlers, the company, by reason of the expense of agencies, etc., lost largely by the new system.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A YEAR OF SENSATIONS.

An Exciting Search.—The Thayers.—John Love.—The Shooting Match.—The Discovery.—The Trial.—The Confession.—The Execution.—Reception of Lafayette.—Interview with Red Jacket.—An Amusing Episode.—Major Noah.—Ararat.—Laying the Corner-stone.—Noah's Proclamation.—The End of Ararat.—The Climax of Absurdity.—Completion of the Canal.—The Grand Celebration.—De Witt Clinton.—The State Salute.—The Wedding of Lake and Ocean.—Political Matters.

The quiet of 1824 was more than compensated by the excitements of 1825. Since the close of the war no such eventful twelvemonth had passed over the county of Erie.

Early in the year the public first learned of a tragedy which became celebrated throughout the country, and to which old residents of Western New York still look back as the event most deeply branded on their memories. For many reasons I would be willing to omit all mention of this wretched event, yet it was so notorious that it would obviously be out of the question for any one to pretend to write a history of Erie county, without giving some account of the episode of "The Three Thayers."

In the latter part of February, 1825, there was a great excitement in the town of Boston, especially in the northern portion. Men and boys were out on all the hillsides and in all the valleys, peering into bushes, looking under logs, exploring every nook where a human body might be secreted. They were searching for the corpse of John Love. Love was a Scotchman by birth, who made a practice of sailing the lake in summer and going on peddling tours in winter. He was an unmarried man, and for two or three years had made his headquarters among the Thayers, near North Boston.

These were an old man, Israel Thayer, and his three sons, Nelson, Israel, Jr., and Isaac. The two first were married, though the oldest was but twenty-three years of age, the youngest of the three being nineteen. They were all in very humble

circumstances, and the young men have generally been reputed as of reckless and evil character. On the other hand, it has been said by some who knew them well that their general behavior was no worse than that of many young men, and that, had it not been for their subsequent crimes, their characters would have passed without special reprobation. S. V. R. Graves, Esq., of East Hamburg, so informed me, and added that either of them would share his last sixpence with an acquaintance, in case of need. Certain it is that the two oldest both married into respectable families.

Love had acquired some money, which he was in the habit of loaning. He had lent some to the Thayers. During the summer of 1824 he sailed in the employ of young Bennett, now the venerable Deacon Joseph Bennett, of Evans, then the owner and captain of a small vessel on the lake. Deacon Bennett declares Love to have been a penurious, grasping man, and says he has no doubt, from circumstances within his knowledge, that he was planning to get possession of all the little property the Thayers had.

In the fall of 1824, Love, after returning from the lake to Boston, and remaining with the Thayers for awhile, suddenly disappeared. Little was thought of it at first, as it was supposed he had gone on one of his peddling trips. Ere long, however, it was noticed that the Thayers, usually so poor, were well supplied with money.

Perhaps the first suspicion against them was aroused at a shooting-match in Boston, on Christmas day. Shots were a sixpence apiece, and sixpences were scarce in those times. Marksmen were in the habit of economizing, especially if they found themselves missing many shots. But all the afternoon the three Thayers kept up a constant firing at the match-maker's turkeys, careless whether they hit or missed, and flinging out their sixpences with a profusion positively startling to the rural mind of that era.

Soon, one or another of the young men was seen riding a fine horse which had belonged to Love, and which they said he had given them. Finally, with that fatuity which so often lures criminals to their destruction, the Thayers attempted to collect notes and accounts, which they represented that Love had left

with them for that purpose. The debtors demurred. One of them refused to pay because no power of attorney was produced. In a few days a power of attorney was brought forward. Then suspicions rapidly grew rife. The Thayers were closely questioned as to Love's whereabouts, and their unsatisfactory answers increased the suspicions.

At length Nelson and Israel were arrested, and, as I have said, men gathered from all the country round to search for the body of Love. The magistrates of Boston offered for its recovery a reward of ten dollars! But ten dollars was more then than it is now. The searchers circled far and near, exploring every suspicious nook, but without results, and toward nightfall they returned, wearied and unsuccessful, but still unsatisfied.

One of them had his attention called to a piece of sloping ground back of the cabin of Israel Thayer, Jr. It is generally reported that this was caused by old Mr. Thayer's asking whether they had examined that locality, but there is nothing in the sworn evidence to that effect. At all events several men went to examine the spot. And there, lying on his back in a shallow grave, carelessly covered with brush, his toes peeping through the frozen ground, was the body of John Love, only twenty or thirty rods from the house of his murderer. The arrest of Isaac and the old man immediately followed, and all were soon in jail.

They were tried at the Erie county Oyer and Terminer, on the 19th and 20th of April. Reuben H. Walworth, judge of the fourth district and afterwards chancellor of the State, presided, while on the bench with him sat Ebenezer Walden, first judge of the Common Pleas, and Associate-Judges Russell, Douglass and Camp. District-Attorney Potter appeared for the people, assisted by Sheldon Smith and Henry B. White, both young lawyers, lately admitted. The prisoners were defended by Thos. C. Love, Ebenezer Griffin and Ethan B. Allen. Israel, Jr., and Isaac were tried first, and Nelson separately, afterwards. The father was not put on trial. Associate-Judge William Mills was also on the bench, at the second trial. Of the jurors, Jas. Clark of Lancaster, and Elijah Knight of Michigan, still survive, and possibly others. The evidence was too plain for serious contest, and all three were found guilty and sentenced to death.

Finding their doom sealed, they made a full confession of their crime. I pass, as briefly as may be, over its tragic details. The murder had been planned for several days before the 15th of December, 1824. On that day Love had been persuaded to go to the house of Israel, Jr., whose wife had been sent away. While he was seated before the fire-place, Isaac, from the outside, fired through the window, hitting him in the head. As he did not fall from his chair, the oldest of the brothers struck him with an axe in the neck, completing the work. Isaac then went away, declaring that he had done his part, and the other two buried the body, as has been said, in a grave so shallow that the earth scarcely covered its feet.

They all said their father had nothing to do with the crime, and it was not generally believed that he had, except that he might, perhaps, have been made aware of it after its commission.

On the 7th of June, 1825, was seen the remarkable spectacle of three brothers led to execution for murder. It was this circumstance which made the crime famous, and which drew an enormous crowd to the scene of doom. When executions were public every one attracted a throng—but three executions at once had a fascination which hardly any one could resist. Even the day before the last tragedy, many bent their way toward Buffalo, and on the morning of the execution, every road was crowded with people—men, women and children—hurrying forward in every kind of vehicle, on horseback and on foot. Never had there been seen such thronging numbers since that dismal day in December, 1813, when all the people fled, not to, but from, the execution which they feared at the hands of savage invaders.

There was, however, one notable exception. As Judge Walden was entering the village from his farm in Hamburg, he met the veteran Red Jacket, striding alone toward his home at the Seneca village.

"Why, how is this," said the judge, "why do you not go to see the execution, like the rest?"

"Ugh," growled the old chieftain contemptuously, "fools enough there now—battle is the place to see men die;" and with this aphorism he haughtily pursued his way.

The morning of the execution the wretched father was released, and returned to his desolate home.

As usual the militia was called out, and besides the regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel and District-Attorney Potter, I find mention of Captains Matthews' and Vosburgh's troops of horse, and Captain Crary's artillery. A mass of people, estimated at from twenty to thirty thousand but probably not half so large, was gathered about Niagara Square, near the west side of which the gallows was situated. Again, as twice before, Elder Glezen Fillmore was chosen to preach the customary sermon, and the survivors of the scene still remember the solemn impression which he made, as his mighty voice rolled out over the heads of the hushed throng.

This was the last public execution at Buffalo, and the only one in Erie county after its separate organization. Like most other noted events of that era, the tragedy was celebrated in divers most unmelodious attempts at rhyme. One of them was so remarkably uncouth in style, and so disjointed in meter, that it may fairly be termed a classic among doggerels. Verses are often quoted from it by old residents, and the newspapers have several times reprinted it for the delectation of their younger readers.

One somewhat curious item illustrates the eagerness of the people to visit the execution, and marks a point in the history of Alden. Thomas Farnsworth, as his son informs me, had put up a large house on the site of Alden village in 1823. He sometimes entertained travelers, but kept no regular tavern for two years. When the crowd came flocking to the execution they, in common parlance, ate him out of house and home. He furnished them everything he could, and then prepared a large supply of eatables and drinkables in expectation of their return. Again the hungry throngs cleared his larder ; he then concluded that he might as well keep a tavern in earnest, and accordingly put up a sign.

It may be noted, too, as another landmark of progress, that in that year James Wood and Orsamus Warren, both deceased within the past year, opened the first store at "Wood's Hollow" in Wales. In fact it was about the first large store in that section, and drew trade from a wide range of country.

Between the trial and execution of the Thayers occurred another event of wide-spread interest. For two or three days Cap-

tain Vosburgh's cavalry and Captain Rathbun's Frontier Guard were kept under arms at Buffalo, awaiting the arrival of the steamer Superior. A large concourse of citizens also assembled daily.

At length, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of June 4th, the steamer came, and from it descended an old man of medium height, venerable appearance and mild demeanor. A great crowd saluted him with enthusiastic cheers, the soldiers presented arms, and under their escort the stranger passed up Main street, to Rathbun's Eagle tavern. It was Lafayette, the guest of the nation, returning from his western tour.

In front of the hotel a handsome pavilion had been erected, where Judge Forward, on behalf of the people, welcomed the distinguished stranger in a brief address, to which the general made an appropriate reply.

Among those who had awaited his arrival was Red Jacket, proudly displaying his Washington medal, and doubtless looking forward with his usual vanity, though with apparent stoicism, to a scene in which it was arranged that he should play a striking part. As the whites naturally wanted their aboriginal lion to make a creditable appearance, a special committee kept close watch to see that the lion did not get drunk before the visitor came.

After the formal reception was over, the orator was escorted on the stage by the committee. "The Douglass in his hall," says Turner, who was present, "never walked with a firmer step or a prouder bearing." He almost seemed to condescend to take notice of the gentleman from France.

Their conversation was through an interpreter; in fact Red Jacket always employed one on state occasions. In the course of it the treaty of Fort Stanwix was mentioned. Lafayette asked his interlocutor if he knew what had become of the young chief, who at that time eloquently opposed the "burying of the tomahawk."

"He stands before you," proudly and promptly replied the aged orator. Nevertheless there is a good deal of doubt as to whether Red Jacket was present at Fort Stanwix at all. If he saw a good chance to add to the dramatic interest of his interview with Lafayette, he would probably be quite willing to seize

it, without regard to the trifling matter of his absence from the council.

In further conversation, the sachem remarked that time had not visited the general so hardly as himself.

"Time has left you a fresh countenance, and hair to cover your head; while as for me—see!" and taking off the handkerchief which had covered his head, he disclosed that he was nearly bald. A laugh went round among the spectators, for most of them knew that Lafayette himself wore a wig. On the chieftain's being informed of this fact, he drily remarked that he supposed he, too, might supply himself with a new head of hair, with the aid of his scalping-knife.

That evening the village was illuminated, and the next morning the general set out for the Falls, being escorted as far as Black Rock by the military.

The occurrences which I shall next describe form altogether the most amusing episode in the history of the county of Erie. Seldom, indeed, have there happened anywhere events which properly entered into history, and yet which were of so intensely farcical a character. This account of them is to a great extent condensed from an essay read by Hon. Lewis F. Allen before the Buffalo Historical Society, though the journals of the time have also been consulted.

From the time of its "conquest," and the expatriation of its would-be sovereigns, in 1819, Grand Island had remained untenanted by man, save perchance by an occasional squatter, who had stolen back and occupied his old ground so quietly that no one had cared to disturb him. Deer were abundant. Bears and wolves were occasionally seen, and fish could be caught in unlimited quantities. White hunters occasionally visited the island, and the Indians of the neighboring reservations held annual carnivals of weeks at a time, always returning with canoes filled with venison.

After several years of this Arcadian existence, the State caused the island to be surveyed into farm lots in 1824 and '25, and in the latter year they were offered for sale. While the survey was going on, Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, a prominent Israelite of the city of New York, formed a plan to purchase the island, (a part of it at first,) found a city, and gather there the

Hebrews of all nations, making it an asylum for that oppressed people.

Despite the visionary nature of his scheme, Major Noah was a shrewd man of the world in ordinary affairs—a native of the United States, a counselor at law, a successful politician, and the editor of the principal organ of the Tammany, or "Bucktail," party in the metropolis. By the favor of that party he had been made consul at Tunis and high sheriff of the county of New York.

He does not, however, seem to have had much influence with his own people, though always a loyal and devoted son of Abraham. The Hebrews, even of his own acquaintance, distrusted his judgment and rejected his proposals.

Nevertheless he persisted in his plan. Poor in means himself, notwithstanding his political influence, he persuaded his Gentile friend, Samuel Leggett, to purchase about a thousand acres at the head of Grand Island, and fifteen hundred on the eastern side, opposite Tonawanda. Mr. L. agreed to pay nearly seven dollars an acre, but only one-eighth was paid down. Other parties, including Peter Smith, father of the late Gerrit Smith, stimulated by Noah's talk of building a city, purchased nearly all the rest of the island at a little less than four dollars per acre.

Noah now assumed the title of "Judge of Israel," without the slightest sanction from any assemblage of his compatriots, however small, or from any of the actual dignitaries of the Jewish church. He then provided himself with robes of office, and, attended only by a solitary secretary, set forth to found his city. For it he had selected the appellation of "Ararat," and the wits of the day declared it very natural that, in searching for a name, *Noah* should light on *Ararat.*

He arrived in Buffalo near the middle of September, 1825. Some of the necessary arrangements had been made in advance. A flag-staff had been erected on the island to bear the Grand Standard of Israel, and a flat stone, resembling in appearance a large, old-fashioned gravestone, had been inscribed by a Buffalo mechanic with a suitable device, furnished by Major Noah. Though called a "corner-stone," it does not appear to have been intended for any particular building, but rather as a memento of the founding of the city.

And here comes the most amusing and surprising part of all this strange performance. Finding, according to his own statement, that enough boats could not be procured to convey to the island all who wished to see the ceremony, Major Noah determined to lay the foundation-stone of the city of Ararat in the village of Buffalo, twelve miles distant, and on the other side of the east branch of the Niagara river. I suspect, however, that this astonishing absurdity was due rather to the facilities which the village afforded for a good show, as compared with the wilds of Grand Island; for vanity was certainly one of the principal characteristics of the self-styled judge.

The people of Buffalo were full of excitement over the almost-completed canal, and their own expected greatness, and gladly availed themselves of any opportunity to make a display. Moreover, as if to add to the oddity of the whole affair, it was determined to lay the foundation of this Jewish city of refuge within the walls of the Episcopal church of St. Paul's. The masons, too, lent their aid, some of the military companies agreed to turn out, and the officers of the corporation consented to appear in a body.

The 15th of September was fixed as the day for the ceremony. At sunrise salutes were fired in front of the court-house and on the Terrace. At eleven o'clock a procession formed in front of the masonic lodge-room, and moved toward the church. Colonel Heman B. Potter acted as grand marshal.

There was a band of music, and militia companies, and citizens, and various officers both civil and military. Then came the masons, in full regalia, with the emblematic corn, wine and oil. Then, almost at the last, followed only by a few royal arch masons and knights templar, came the principal figure of the procession. In an article written by Major Noah himself, for an extra edition of the Buffalo Patriot, that figure is described as "The Judge of Israel, in black, wearing the judicial robes of crimson silk, trimmed with ermine, and a richly embossed golden medal suspended from the neck."

At the church the troops opened each way, and the procession entered, while the band played the grand march from Judas Maccabees. The "corner stone" lay on the communion table! The masonic corn, wine and oil lay in silver cups on the stone.

The latter bore the following inscription, the first line being in Hebrew:

Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God—the Lord is one.
ARARAT,
A City of Refuge for the Jews. Founded by
MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH,
In the month of Tizri 5586—Sept. 1825, in the 50th year of American Independence.

The Episcopal morning service was read by the Rev. Addison Searle, the missionary rector of St. Paul's, and then a hymn was sung to the tune of "Old Hundred." Then came various prayers, readings from the Bible, a psalm in Hebrew, and finally the benediction. The ordinary ceremony of laying a corner-stone with trowel and mortar was necessarily omitted.

Major Noah then delivered a speech, going through with the details of his plan, after which the procession returned to the lodge-room, the artillery fired a salute of twenty-four guns, the band played patriotic airs, and the crowd dispersed to their homes.

The same number of the Buffalo Patriot which gave a description of the scene contained also a "proclamation to the Jews," quite as amusing as the rest of the proceedings. After declaring that God had manifested the approach of the day when the Jews should be reunited, and mentioning the spirit of liberality which encouraged them, the document continued:

"Therefore I, Mordecai Manuel Noah, citizen of the United States of America, late consul of said States for the City and Kingdom of Tunis, High Sheriff of New York, Counselor at law, and by the grace of God Governor and Judge of Israel, have issued this, my proclamation, announcing to the Jews throughout the world that an asylum is prepared, and hereby offered to them, where they can enjoy that peace, comfort and happiness which have been denied them through the intolerance and misgovernment of former ages."

The proclamation next proceeded to describe the agricultural and commercial advantages of Grand Island, and of the State of New York, in the most glowing terms. Then the judge continued:

"In his [the Lord's] name do I revive, renew and establish the government of the Jewish nation, under the auspices and protection of the constitution and laws of the United States of

America, confirming and perpetuating all our rights and privileges, our name, our rank and our power among the nations of the earth, as they existed and were recognized under the government of the Judges."

How their rank and power among the nations, as they were in the time of the Judges, were to be reconciled with the authority of the United States over Grand Island, the enthusiastic ruler did not deign to explain. With sublime audacity he proceeded to issue a series of commands to all the Israelites of the world, not one of whom, except perhaps his secretary, had ever recognized his authority.

He commanded that a census of the Hebrews should be taken throughout the world. He prohibited marriage, or giving "Keduchim," unless both parties were of suitable age, and able to read and write the language of the country they inhabited. He commanded that a strict neutrality should be observed in the pending war between the Greeks and Turks. He declared that the American Indians were in all probability descended from the lost tribes of Israel, and that measures must be adopted to cultivate their minds and reunite them to the chosen people.

Most audacious of all, he levied a capitation tax of "three shekels," or one Spanish dollar, per annum, on every Jew throughout the world, to defray the expenses of reorganizing the government and assisting emigrants. Finally he designated ten of the most eminent Israelites of Europe as commissioners to carry out his instructions.

The proclamation was signed "By the Judge. A. B. Siexas, Secretary *pro tem.*"

A day or two later the redoubtable counselor, editor, major, sheriff and judge returned to New York, without having ever visited Grand Island, and that was the end of Ararat. Not an Israelite went to Grand Island, not a "shekel" was paid into the treasury, not a rabbi acknowledged the authority of the Supreme Judge. All unanimously rejected the enticing scheme, and Noah himself, apparently becoming satisfied of its hopelessness, utterly abandoned it immediately after his return to the metropolis.

In his description of the affair he called the services "impres-

sive and unique." Unique they certainly were. I doubt if a "queerer" performance has ever happened outside the limits of opera bouffe. The foundation-stone of a Jewish city is laid with masonic ceremonies, on the communion table of a Christian church, twelve miles and across a river from the site of the proposed metropolis, by a man claiming to be the supreme ruler of Israel without the support of a single Israelite, while an Episcopal clergyman reads the service and the choir sing Old Hundred. Moreover, the ceremonies are under the escort of a detachment of New York militia, their colonel acting as grand marshal, he being at the same time district-attorney of Erie county, aiding the high sheriff of New York to set up the ancient government of the Hebrew judges within the jurisdiction of the United States of America.

A score of exclamation points would be inadequate to do justice to the situation.

Noah did not even take care to destroy or conceal the stone memento of his folly. For several years it lay in the rear of St. Paul's church, and afterwards went through some curious migrations which will perhaps be narrated by-and-by.

Not the least singular part of the whole matter is that after this astonishing fiasco Noah was still able to maintain his prestige as an editor and politician. If he was the cause of wit in others, he was not without wit of his own, and in his newspaper he met the ridicule flung upon him, with a readiness and good humor that in time disarmed his adversaries. Though he could not make himself a judge in Israel, he could in New York, being appointed to preside in one of the courts of that city some years after his Grand Island escapade. He is said to have performed his judicial duties with marked ability and integrity.

There was still another grand sensation for the year 1825. The progress of the Erie canal had been anxiously watched throughout the final summer of its construction. In September there remained only the last touches at the "Mountain Ridge," where the village of Lockport was rapidly growing in the forest. On the 29th of that month William C. Bouck, the commissioner in charge of the western section, gave notice that the canal would be ready for the passage of boats, along its entire length, on the 26th of October.

Immediately a grand celebration was resolved on, and committees were appointed all along the line to carry it out. From Albany to Buffalo everybody was in a state of excitement over the canal and the celebration, and even New York took an active part. Nowhere was the feeling stronger than at Buffalo, which at length saw its hopes of greatness approaching realization. Though the adoption of that place as the terminus of the canal was perhaps the real turning-point in her destiny, yet her triumph was still liable to be checked by hostile legislation. The completion of the canal set the seal of permanent success on her endeavors, and all her people were ready for a jubilee. The whole county of Erie, too, was deeply interested in the event about to be celebrated, for it not only provided the people with an unfailing outlet for their surplus produce, but it brought to their doors the market which a great city always affords.

As the designated hour drew near, the force at the Mountain Ridge was largely increased, and even then there was no time to spare. It was not till the evening of the 24th of October that the guard-gates were opened, and the filling of the Lake Erie level commenced, and not till the evening of the 25th that the entire canal was provided with water, and ready for navigation. On that evening Governor Clinton and the New York committee arrived at Buffalo, finding everything in perfect readiness for the ovation.

On the 26th the morn was ushered in by the thunders of artillery, and everybody was soon astir. At an early hour marshals were riding to and fro, soldiers were hurrying to their rendezvous, banners were waving from every housetop, mechanics of every description were assembling at the appointed localities, and citizens of every station were preparing to join in the joyful duties of the day. At 9 o'clock the procession formed at the park and moved down Main street, headed by a band of music and Captain Rathbun's rifle company. Then came a body of canal diggers with shovels, axe-men with axes, stone-cutters, masons, ship-carpenters, and sailors of the lake with their officers. All the mechanics of the village followed, (I doubt if one was absent); the representatives of each trade marching together. Then came the citizens in general, then a body of military officers in uniform, members of the village

corporation, strangers of distinction, canal engineers and commissioners, followed by the orator of the day, Sheldon Smith.

Last of all, rode one who has been universally recognized as the master-mind of the work then celebrated—whose genius discerned the wisdom of the much-ridiculed project of the "Grand Canal," whose talents gave it effective advocacy, whose resolute will forced it to completion—De Witt Clinton, governor of the State of New York. A square-built, broad-shouldered man of fifty-six, his stern countenance may have hidden his feelings from the crowd, but he must have been more or less than human had not his heart beat quicker with triumph as he saw his hopes and his labors at last realized. Henceforth his position was secure. Politicians might outwit him, enemies might assail him, disease might torture him, death might soon claim him for its own, but the "Father of the Erie Canal" had achieved a place in the history of his State and nation, of which neither politicians, nor enemies, nor disease, nor death itself could rob him.

The procession, under the direction of Major John G. Camp, grand marshal of the day, moved down Main street, and thence to the canal basin, where the boat Seneca Chief, which was to make the first voyage through to the Hudson, was awaiting it. The governor and other distinguished passengers went on board. Jesse Hawley, the earliest projector of the canal in its entirety, made a short address of congratulation on the part of a committee from Rochester. Judge Forward responded on behalf of the Buffalo committee.

Then, at precisely 10 o'clock, the boat moved off, and, as it did so, a 32-pound cannon on the bank was fired. Ere its echoes died away, it was responded to by another gun far down the canal; and those who listened closely for a moment more might, perchance, have heard still another faint report, from a yet greater distance. The grand State-salute was being fired. All along the canal, from Buffalo to Albany, heavy pieces of artillery had been stationed within hearing distance of each other, and the shot fired at Buffalo was repeated by gun after gun, as fast as sound could travel.

After the boat had started, the procession returned to the court-house, where, after prayer and singing, Mr. Smith delivered

an oration on the great event, in which, after depicting the benefits which the canal, though incomplete, had already conferred, he indulged in a glowing description of the blessings which it would bestow in the future, not only on the people of the Empire State, but on the many millions of the mighty West: anticipations which have been more than made good by the beneficent reality.

The services at the court-house were closed by the singing of an "ode written for the occasion," which was not, as is often the case with such productions, entirely destitute of poetic fire. The procession then re-formed and marched through several streets. Afterwards, a large number of the citizens partook of a dinner at "Rathbun's Eagle," and another body at "Landon's Mansion House."

A few minutes before sitting down, a faint report was heard to the northward.

"Ah! the return shot," cried the people, and at the same instant the big 32-pounder at the basin thundered forth the last shot in the State-salute. The announcement of the starting of the Seneca Chief had occupied but three hours and twenty minutes in traveling to Albany and back by this unique telegraph.

The dinners were duly discussed, with numerous toasts appropriate to the occasion, and the festivities of the day were concluded by a grand ball at Rathbun's, at which, we are told, "most of the fashion and beauty of the village attended."

The Buffalo committee, headed by Judge Wilkeson, went through to New York, and obtained a keg of the water of the Atlantic, which they brought back to Buffalo. On their arrival there was a final ceremony, which reminds one of the wedding of the Adriatic by the doge of Venice. The sentiment was quite as poetic, though it must be confessed that the accessories were far less so.

The committee, with other citizens, went out upon the lake in a vessel. Then, with appropriate formalities, the water of the Atlantic was poured upon the bosom of Erie. This was the last ceremonial which celebrated the grand wedding of Lake and Ocean.

It was in 1825, or very near it, that the trustees of Buffalo changed the old names of many of the streets to others more

easily manageable. Vollenhoven avenue became Erie street, Cazenove avenue Court street, Schimmelpenninck avenue Niagara street, and Busti avenue Genesee street. Onondaga street was changed into Washington, and Tuscarora into Franklin, and terrible Missisauga was subdued to simple Morgan. Even the modest names of Oneida and Cayuga were not spared, but were changed into Ellicott and Pearl. Finally, Crow street, which commemorated the name of the pioneer landlord, was rechristened Exchange, and then the reformers stayed their hands.

Another change of name was made, about this time, on the banks of the Cattaraugus. The hamlet called Aldrich's Mills became the village of Lodi. A year or two previous Mr. Ralph Plumb had purchased the solitary store there, and had begun the prominent business career which he so long and successfully pursued. Probably the name of Lodi was suggested by Napoleon's "Bridge of Lodi," on account of the long bridge over the Cattaraugus, which connected the two parts of the village. But there was another Lodi in the State, their letters went wrong, and for a long time they never could get a post-office name to suit them.

At the election in November, John G. Camp was chosen sheriff, and Jacob A. Barker was reelected county clerk. Reuben B. Heacock was selected to represent the county in the assembly, and Judge Wilkeson in the State senate. The supervisors for that year, of which there happens to be a complete list extant, were as follows: Amherst, Job Bestow; Alden, Moses Case; Aurora, John C. Fuller; Buffalo, Josiah Trowbridge; Boston, John C. Twining; Collins, Nathaniel Knight; Concord, Thomas M. Barrett; Clarence, Simeon Fillmore; Evans, Nathaniel Gray; Eden, James Green; Erie (Newstead), John Boyer; Hamburg, Thomas T. White, and after his death Joseph Foster; Holland, Asa Crook; Sardinia, Bela H. Colegrove; Wales, Ebenezer Holmes.

The State census was taken in June of this year, and showed the population of Erie county to be twenty-four thousand three hundred and sixteen. Buffalo numbered two thousand four hundred and twelve inhabitants—only one tenth of the whole population of the county.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1826 TO 1830.

The Semi-Centennial.—Dr. Lord.—Purchase of Indian Land.—Abduction of Morgan.—Excitement.—Anti-Masonry in Politics.—The Holland Company. A Bogus Murderer.—Shooting Niagara.—A Menagerie in Trouble.—Deposition of Red Jacket.—Restoration.—An Erie County Cabinet-Officer.—Military.—Early Germans.—Political Matters.—Catholics.—A Classical School. Millard Fillmore.—Post-offices in 1830.—Condition of the County.—Death of Red Jacket.—Fate of his Remains.

The construction of the canal was not, at first, rewarded by the immense business which its sanguine supporters expected. But little grain, as yet, found its way down the lake, and for several years loads were light. A large part of the business of the canal was the carrying of passengers in packet boats, a business which became quite extensive, yet did not prevent an immense amount of travel by stage-coach.

Few incidents of special local interest occurred during the forepart of 1826. As this is a "Centennial History," however, it would be inconsistent not to mention that in 1826 occurred the Jubilee, or Semi-Centennial, of American Independence, celebrated with great rejoicing throughout the country, and made doubly memorable by the most remarkable coincidence in history—the death of Jefferson, the author of the declaration, and of Adams, its chief supporter, just fifty years from the day of its being signed.

At the celebration in Buffalo the principal part was borne by a young man admitted the year before to the Erie county bar, of which he is now the earliest surviving member, though he has long given all his efforts to another field. I refer to John C. Lord, now the Rev. Dr. Lord, the orator of the day on that occasion.

The supervisors for the year, so far as known, were Job Bestow of Amherst, Moses Case of Alden, Josiah Trowbridge of Buffalo, Truman Cary of Boston, O. R. Hopkins of Clarence, Nathaniel Knight of Collins, Asa Warren of Eden, Joseph

Foster of Hamburg, Asa Crook of Holland, Horace Clark of Sardinia, and Ebenezer Holmes of Wales.

During this year the efforts of the preemption-owners to purchase Indian lands were at length rewarded with partial success. A council was held the last of August, 1826, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Red Jacket and his supporters, a treaty was made by which the Indians ceded to the Ogden Company 33,037 acres of the Buffalo reservation, 33,400 of the Tonawanda reservation, and 5,120 of the Cattaraugus reservation, besides some 1,500 acres in the Genesee valley.

All of the Tonawanda reservation in Erie county was thus ceded, except a strip about a mile and a half wide and two miles and a half long, in the northeast corner of the town of Erie, or Newstead. The thriving village of Akron is on the land then purchased, near its southwest corner.

From the Buffalo Creek reservation a strip a mile and a half wide was sold off on the south side, running from a point in the present town of Cheektowaga, a mile and a half east of Cayuga creek to the east end of the reservation. Also a strip about three miles wide from the east end, (including all east of the "two-rod road" in Marilla), and finally a tract a mile wide, commonly called the "mile-strip," extending along the whole south side of the reservation.

Of the Cattaraugus reservation, besides a mile square in Chautauqua county there was ceded in Erie county a strip a mile wide along the north side of the reservation, for six miles from the northeast corner, also called in that section the "mile-strip," and a tract a mile square, known as the "mile-block," south of the east end of that strip. Both are in the present town of Brant, the north edge of that "mile-strip" being about half a mile south of Brant Center.

Red Jacket's influence was evidently waning, but he still clung to the semblance of his former greatness. After the treaty was agreed to by the greater part of the chiefs, the agent of the Ogden Company told the veteran orator that as he had opposed its adoption he need not sign it. But no; the name of Sagoyewatha had been affixed to every treaty made by his people for nearly forty years, and must not now be omitted.

His opposition to Christianity and civilization was yearly

growing more bitter, and the breach between his pagan adherents and that large part of the Indians who favored progressive doctrines was all the while becoming wider. Although his vanity prompted him to have his name in its usual prominent position, yet he afterwards tried to have the treaty set aside as fraudulent. On examination, however, the negotiations appeared to have been conducted with entire fairness.

As soon as practicable, the land thus purchased was divided among the several individuals who were collectively called the Ogden Company, and most of it was put in market.

That year, too, the State offered for sale its land adjoining Buffalo, on the State reservation, which came as far east as Morgan street. It was appraised at twenty-five dollars an acre! The price, however, advanced very rapidly after the sale. Mr. James Miller relates that he bought twelve acres of the first purchasers for nine hundred and fifty dollars, kept it a year and sold it for six thousand.

It was in September of this year that the celebrated William Morgan, of Batavia, when on the eve of publishing his exposure of the secrets of masonry, was abducted from Canandaigua, where he had been confined in jail on trivial charges, and taken in a close carriage in the direction of Niagara river. The abduction created much excitement throughout Western New York, but does not appear in any way to have affected the election that fall.

In this congressional district a very bitter contest, chiefly on personal grounds, took place between Garnsey, the sitting member, and Albert H. Tracy, the ex-member, the former being elected by a small majority. Mr. Tracy had, a few months before, been appointed judge of the eighth circuit by Governor Clinton, but had declined the office. Wm. B. Rochester, who had previously held it, had resigned in order to come to Buffalo and accept the presidency of a branch of the United States Bank, then established there.

By the census of 1825, Erie county had become entitled to two members of the assembly; David Burt of Buffalo, and Oziel Smith of Williamsville, were the first elected under the new rule.

As time passed, and Morgan could not be found, the people

became still more excited. Meetings were held, and commitees of investigation appointed, and bitter language toward all masons began to be used throughout Western New York. At length it was discovered that the unfortunate man had been taken from Canandaigua to Fort Niagara, thence across the river to Canada, and thence back to the fort, in the magazine of which he was kept until about the 29th of September, when all traces of him disappeared forever. Plentiful inferences have been drawn, but his precise fate is still unknown. Some of his first abductors were discovered and indicted, but they pleaded guilty of the abduction in January, 1827, leaving the main question undecided. The feeling grew stronger and spread wider, and nowhere was it stronger than in Erie county, except perhaps in Genesee. Many masons abandoned the connection.

As the town elections approached in the spring of 1827, the prevalent excitement began to show itself in politics. In many towns, meetings were held at which resolutions were adopted that no adhering mason should be supported for any office.

The following supervisors were chosen at that time: T. S. Hopkins of Amherst, Moses Case of Alden, Thomas Thurston of Aurora, Josiah Trowbridge of Buffalo, Epaphras Steele of Boston, Nathaniel Knight of Collins, Otis R. Hopkins of Clarence, Levi Bunting of Eden, William Van Duzer of Evans, Asa Crook of Holland, Joseph Foster of Hamburg, Horace Clark of Sardinia, and Niles Cole of Wales.

During the year many masonic lodges in Western New York gave up their charters, and distrust of the institution extended to other parts of the country. Parties were in a chaotic state, nearly all men claiming to be Democrats. The most definite division was into supporters of the Adams-Clay administration, on the one hand, and of Jackson's aspirations to the succession on the other. Neither of these parties would consent to the exclusion of masons from office, so the ardent anti-masons advocated the policy of separate nominations. Some of the counties were carried by an anti-masonic ticket in the fall of 1827.

In Erie, however, that question was complicated with that of opposition to the Holland Land Company. Notwithstanding the reception of produce by the company, there was still a large indebtedness, with poor prospects of payment. When, added to

this, came rumors that the company was about to raise the price of land on which the time of payment had passed, there was a general desire for legislative relief. Doubts were started as to the title of the company, and the proposition that in some way its property should be subjected to very heavy taxation was received with favor. David E. Evans had succeeded Mr. Otto as agent, and during his administration the contracts were somewhat modified in favor of the settlers.

At this time the veteran soldier and statesman, Peter B. Porter, again came to the surface of political affairs. He was almost unanimously elected to the assembly, representing a mingled feeling of opposition to masonry and to the Holland Company. David Burt was reëlected by a large majority.

In the fall, the masons charged with the murder of Morgan were brought to trial in Niagara county, the trials resulting in disagreement of the juries. While the excitement was running high an incident occurred, curiously illustrative of the proclivity of minds, at once weak, vain and vicious, to seek an evil notoriety at every hazard. One R. H. Hill, a resident or sojourner in this county, confessed with great circumstantiality that he had been a party to the murder of Morgan. He declared that with his own hand he had cut the victim's throat, and then helped to throw him overboard from a boat, and that in doing so one of the party of murderers became entangled in some ropes, fell overboard and was drowned. He added that remorse alone had caused this confession. He was put in jail, but when the grand jury examined the matter they came to the unanimous opinion that Hill knew nothing of Morgan or his fate. The would-be culprit was accordingly discharged, a proceeding which he took in high dudgeon. Not long after, he again got himself arrested, but was again discharged, being thus finally compelled to abandon all his hopes of fame. In the reports of the affair there is no suggestion of insanity—but insanity was not as fashionable then as now.

Stimulated by the prevalent feeling, an anti-masonic newspaper, called the Western Advertiser, was started in Buffalo, but it only lasted about three months. A separate organ was not necessary, as the principles of the anti-masons were vigorously supported by the Buffalo Patriot, while the Journal defended

masonry. It defended it very moderately, however, for the feeling in opposition was too strong to be rudely dealt with.

The Black Rock Gazette was moved to Buffalo in 1827, by its proprietor, Smith H. Salisbury, and published for a year as the Buffalo and Black Rock Gazette. The Black Rock Advocate, which had maintained a precarious existence for a year, gave up the ghost in 1827. It was evident that the tide of progress was rapidly drifting away from Black Rock.

Tonawanda village had at this time advanced so that it had a bridge, a few houses and two small stores; Mr. Driggs, before referred to, who located there permanently in 1827, opened the third. The Methodists then had an organization, but there was no church-building.

In fact church-buildings were extremely rare anywhere in the county. I cannot learn of one, out of Buffalo, in the beginning of 1827, except the Friends' meeting-house at East Hamburg. In that year the Baptist and Presbyterian churches in Aurora combined, and built a good-sized frame church. The Methodists there erected one about the same time, and thenceforth white spires began to arise in all parts of the county.

At this time, too, the village of Lodi, formerly Aldrich's Mills, had progressed so that it was thought possible to support a paper there, and the Lodi Pioneer was accordingly established. It had but a brief existence.

There were already several steamers on the lake, and a large fleet of sail vessels. Two or three small steamers had also been built to run on the Niagara. A curious exhibition was seen on that river in September, 1827. The schooner Michigan, which was found to be too large to enter the lake harbors, and had besides become partially unseaworthy, was purchased by several hotel-owners and others, and public notice given that on a certain day it would be sent over the Falls. The novel exhibition drew immensely. Strangers came for days beforehand, and at the time appointed the number of people on Goat Island and the neighboring shores was estimated all the way from ten to thirty thousand. Five steamers, all there were on both lake and river except the Superior, went down from Buffalo loaded with passengers, besides thousands who took land-conveyance.

The Michigan was towed by one of the steamers to Yale's

landing, three miles above the Falls, on the Canadian side. In the afternoon it was taken in charge by Captain Rough, the oldest captain on the lake, who with a yawl and five oarsmen undertook to pilot the doomed vessel as near the rapids as was possible. The Michigan had been provided with a crew, for that voyage only, consisting of a buffalo, three bears, two foxes, a raccoon, a dog, a cat and four geese. It had also been officered with effigies of General Jackson and other prominent men of the day.

Captain Rough took the schooner to a point within a quarter of a mile of the first rapids, and but little over half a mile from the Horse-shoe Fall. Then it was cut adrift, and the oarsmen had to pull for their lives, but succeeded in insuring their safety. Both shores were lined with immense crowds, eagerly watching this curious proceeding.

With the American ensign flying from her bowsprit, and the British jack at her stern, the Michigan went straight down the center of the stream, keeping the course the best pilot would have pursued, and was soon dashing over the first rapids. Then there was trouble among the amateur crew. One of the bears was seen climbing a mast. The foxes, the coon, the dog and the cat were scampering up and down, apparently snuffing mischief in the air, but not knowing how to avoid it. Two of the bears plunged into the seething rapids and swam to the Canadian shore. The poor buffalo was inclosed in a pen, and could do nothing but meet his fate in dignified silence.

Passing the first rapids uninjured, the schooner shipped a sea, but came up and entered the second, still "head on." There its masts both went by the board. Then it swung around, entered the third rapid stern foremost, and the next instant plunged over the Horse-shoe Fall. Of course it was shivered into ten thousand pieces, many of the largest timbers being broken into atoms. Two of the geese survived the tremendous plunge and swam ashore, being the only animals, except fish, ever known to have descended alive over that fearful precipice. Their *compagnons de voyage* all disappeared; even the buffalo was never heard of more. Of the effigies, Gen. Jackson's alone passed uninjured over the cataract, and was seen with head, arms and legs complete, riding triumphantly around one of the eddies—which

was doubtless considered by the friends of the real general as an omen of success at the next Presidential election.

About the same time that this singular pageant was attracting a multitude of spectators, the old orator of the Senecas was being metaphorically sent over the Falls, as an unseaworthy hulk, by his countrymen. The school at the Seneca village was then in a forward condition, and many of the most prominent Indians began to profess their belief in Christianity. Red Jacket's opposition became more bitter than ever, while his personal habits were those of a perfect sot.

His wife had lately joined the Christians, whereupon the angry old pagan abandoned her, and lived for several months with another woman on the Tonawanda reservation. At the end of that time, however, he returned to his wife, and afterwards manifested no opposition to her attending church.

Twenty-five of the chiefs determined to depose him from his sachemship. They accordingly had a written deposition drawn up, which they all signed. The list was headed by "Gayanquiaton," or Young King, followed by the veteran Captain Pollard, White Seneca, Seneca White, Captain Strong and the rest.

This singular document was directly addressed to him, saying, "You, Sagoyowatha," have committed such and such offenses; accusing him of sending false stories to the President, of opposing improvement, of discouraging children from attending school, of leaving his wife, of betraying the United States in the war of 1812, of appropriating annuity goods to his own use, and of hiding a deer he had killed, while his people were starving. His accusers closed by renouncing him as chief, and forbidding him to act as such.

These charges extended over a long time, and as to many of them there are no means of ascertaining their correctness. Those relating to his opposition to "improvement," etc., were doubtless true, but were hardly proper subjects of impeachment. As to the accusation of betraying the United States in the war, it was generally repudiated by American officers, who doubted Red Jacket's courage, but not his fidelity. He sought, indeed, to keep his people out of the fight entirely, but his right to do this can hardly be questioned. It will be observed that his accusers say nothing about the gross drunkenness which really

unfitted him for performing any official duties which may have attached to his rank. Probably a good many of them thought it not best, on their own account, to meddle with that subject.

Chiefs were so numerous among the Indians that twenty-five was a minority of those who could claim that dignity; and the action of that number could not be considered the voice of the nation. Red Jacket, however, was deeply cut by it. He made a visit to Washington in 1827 or '28, and the commissioner of Indian affairs advised him to return and offer his opponents to bury the hatchet. He came back and called a council. Much indignation was unquestionably felt among the Indians that their greatest man should have been treated with such indignity. He exerted his waning powers to the utmost, and made a most eloquent speech. The council agreed to restore him to his rank, and it is reported that it was done by a unanimous vote, his opponents being awed into silence by the popular feeling.

But this was the last effort of that brilliant mind. He sank rapidly into comparative imbecility and utter sottishness.

At the spring elections, in 1828, Timothy S. Hopkins was chosen supervisor from Amherst, Moses Case from Alden, Reuben B. Heacock from Buffalo, Epaphras Steele from Boston, Nathaniel Knight from Collins, Joshua Agard from Concord, Otis R. Hopkins from Clarence, Levi Bunting from Eden, Joseph Foster from Hamburg, Asa Crook from Holland, Horace Clark from Sardinia, Niles Cole from Wales, and Silas Lewis from Colden; the latter being the first from that town.

Judge Walden retired from the bench, and Thomas C. Love was appointed first judge of the Common Pleas. His associates were Charles Townsend, Philander Bennett, Samuel Russell and William Mills.

A little later, a vacancy having occurred in the office of Secretary of War, President Adams selected Gen. Peter B. Porter for that position. He was the first cabinet officer from Western New York. Gen. Porter discharged with credit the duties of his office during the remainder of Mr. Adams' term, and then retired permanently from public life. Still later he removed to Niagara Falls, where he died in 1844. His only son was the late Col. Peter A. Porter, (a native of Erie county, though long a resident of Niagara,) who inherited the valor of the pioneer

volunteer, and fell at the head of his regiment in the war for the Union.

H. B. Potter still remained district-attorney. He had also become general of the 47th brigade of infantry, New York militia, and a roster on file in the Historical Society gives the names of his field and staff officers. I do not know the exact year it was made out, but it was not far from 1828. It ran as follows:

Brigadier-general, Heman B. Potter. Colonels, Jonathan Colby of Holland, David Burt of Buffalo, Harry B. Ransom of Clarence, and Uriel Torrey of Boston. Lieutenant-colonels, Nathan M. Mann of Wales, Lyman Rathbun of Buffalo, Alanson Fox of Clarence, and Perry G. Jenks of Boston. Majors, Edward H. Nye of Aurora, Alanson Palmer of Buffalo, Ansel Badger of Alden, and Whitman Stone of Eden. The brigade staff was composed as follows: Hospital surgeon, John E. Marshall; judge advocate, Philander Bennett; brigade-quartermaster, James W. Higgins; aide-de-camp, George Hodge; brigade major and inspector, Millard Fillmore. After this time, although generals and colonels continued to abound, yet few notices of their appointment were published, and consequently I shall not, as a rule, be able to give them a place in this history.

Although the feeling against masonry was very strong in this section, and constantly growing more so, yet the lodges at Buffalo and Black Rock still continued to meet, and in 1828 celebrated in the usual manner the ancient festival of St. John. As the fall elections approached, the combat grew more intense. Charges of murder and of abetting murder were freely used on the one hand, and were met by accusations that the leading anti-masons were merely stirring up strife for the purpose of obtaining office.

This was also the autumn of the first election of Jackson, and the contest was exceedingly bitter, throughout the country, between his supporters (who by this time were generally recognized as the actual Democratic party) and those of the Adams-Clay administration. In Western New York the lines were pretty closely drawn between the Jackson Democrats on the one hand and the anti-masons on the other, the latter having a large majority.

In the 30th district, Ebenezer F. Norton, of Buffalo, was

elected to Congress over John G. Camp. In this county Lemuel Wasson, of Hamburg, was chosen sheriff, and Elijah Leech, of Buffalo, county clerk. To represent the county in the assembly the anti-masons elected David Burt, of Buffalo, and the young Aurora lawyer, Millard Flllmore, who then first entered public life. Dr. Johnson was again appointed surrogate, in place of Roswell Chapin.

Notwithstanding the feebleness of the Democracy in this county, a paper was established during the campaign to disseminate their principles, which has adhered to that party ever since, and which, after several changes of name, has for thirty years been known as the Buffalo Courier. At its birth it was called the Buffalo Republican.

It was during the semi-decade under consideration in this chapter, that there began to appear in Erie county a few scattered families of a nationality which is now represented within our borders by near eighty thousand of our most prosperous citizens. A few Germans had come to Buffalo on the completion of the canal, and from year to year thereafter. One of the number, Mr. E. C. Grey, who came in 1828, says there were not over twenty-five German families in Buffalo when he arrived. There were substantially none in the country towns. From that time forward the number kept steadily increasing, and I shall endeavor as fully as practicable to trace their growth up to its present remarkable development.

The anti-masons continued to hold sway throughout 1829, and the adhering masons gradually decreased in numbers. Then or not long afterwards the Erie county lodges gave up their charters. In the fall of 1829 Albert H. Tracy again entered political life, being elected State senator by the anti-masons, by a majority of over seven thousand in the eighth senatorial district. At the same time Mr. Fillmore was reëlected to the assembly, in which he had taken high rank by his industry and talents. The other member then elected was Edmund Hull, of Clarence.

Thomas C. Love resigned the post of first judge to accept that of district-attorney, from which General Potter retired after ten years of service—the longest time that any one has held that office in the county. Associate-judge Philander Ben-

nett was made first judge in place of Love, and James Stryker appointed associate.

The supervisors for 1829 and 1830, so far as known, were as follows: Amherst, Timothy S. Hopkins; Alden, Moses Case; Buffalo, Ebenezer Walden; Boston, Epaphras Steele; Clarence, Benjamin O. Bivins and John Brown; Collins, Nathaniel Knight; Colden, Silas Lewis and William Lewis; Eden, Levi Bunting; Hamburg, Joseph Foster; Holland, Chase Fuller; Sardinia, Horace Clark; Wales, Niles Cole and Moses McArthur.

Most of the present town of Marilla was included in the tract bought of the Indians. Its excellent soil caused it to be quickly settled as soon as the land was for sale. Jeremiah and G. W. Carpenter opened farms near the site of Marilla village in 1829 and '30. Jesse Bartoo had settled still earlier, near what is now Porterville, but was long called Bartoo's Mills.

The large tract purchased in Erie (Newstead) was also rapidly filling up. The Erie post-office was on the old Buffalo road, but business had already begun to be drawn toward what is now the village of Akron, and in 1828 or '29 Jonathan Russell opened a store there. For some unknown reason the place was ere long called "The Corporation," and for many years went principally by that name. The interior of the vast limestone ridge, however, was as yet unexplored.

Meanwhile Williamsville, which had remained about the same ever since the close of the war, began to revive. Oziel Smith bought the extensive mill-property, which had been unused for some time, new machinery was set in motion, and the place began to assume the appearance of progress.

In 1829 the Catholics had become so numerous at Buffalo that Bishop Dubois paid them a visit, preached, and administered the sacraments of his Church. He states that he found seven or eight hundred Catholics, instead of the seventy or eighty he had expected. He speaks of hearing the confessions of two hundred Swiss, and the same year he sent thither Father Nicholas Merz, the first Catholic priest settled in Buffalo. There were also a few Catholics in Lancaster at that time, but none elsewhere in the county, except scattered individuals.

Up to this time there had been substantially no means of education higher than that of a common school, outside of Buffalo,

and very little even in that village. Mr. Theodotus Burwell, afterwards Judge Burwell, was then conducting an academy there.

For several years efforts had been made to have an academy in Springville. At length one was incorporated, and the first election of trustees took place in 1829. Two thousand five hundred dollars were raised by subscription, in shares of fifteen dollars, and a building was begun.

In the spring of 1829 Mr. George W. Johnson, a young graduate of Dartmouth college, opened a classical school, or academy, at Aurora village; the first of its kind, out of Buffalo, in the county. Mr. J. mentions Joseph Howard, Jr., a leading merchant and hotel-keeper of that village, as one of the warmest patrons of both the private academy and the public one which succeeded it. In June, while conducting his school, Mr. Johnson became a law student in the office of Millard Fillmore, who had just returned from his first session in the legislature. The other students were a gentleman named Warren, and Nathan K. Hall, the son of a shoemaker in the adjoining town of Wales.

Mr. Johnson, who after a long professional life in Buffalo is now a resident of Niagara county, has furnished me with some reminiscences of that period, from which I extract a few relating to the future President. Mr. J. speaks of him as being ever the same accessible, genial and obliging gentleman, rarely or never losing his temper, and noted for quiet, persistent industry. These are traits with which all are familiar who know anything of the distinguished gentleman in question; there were others not so generally known, and which were perhaps overlaid by the cares and dignities of his subsequent life.

His quondam student relates that he had a quick sense of the ridiculous, large imitative powers, and much amusing but inoffensive humor, which made him a capital teller of anecdotes and stories; he not only relating the story, but with voice and gesture "acting it out" to the life. While fond of humor, however, he was not given to wit, and in sarcastic wit he never indulged. His student, and subsequent cabinet-officer, Mr. Hall, was somewhat like him in both respects, as well as in his other qualities of industry, perseverance and moderation.

Mr. Fillmore, while in Aurora, eked out the slender income of a village lawyer by frequent practice as a land-surveyor, being

the owner of a compass and other surveying instruments, for which there was more use then than now. Obtaining sufficient exercise in that way, he rarely or never sought recreation in the neighboring forest with rifle or fish-pole, as did almost all young men of the period. One of his few relaxations was to sit before his office of a summer evening, in the midst of a group of villagers, smoking his pipe, and relating and listening to anecdotes and gossip. On one of these occasions, during a lull in the conversation, Mr. Johnson suddenly accosted him, saying:

"Mr. Fillmore, why don't you get into Congress, and procure by your influence profitable positions for Hall and me?"

The oddity of the question excited a general laugh, for Mr. Fillmore, though a member of the assembly, was still only a village lawyer and country surveyor. Deliberately taking his pipe from his mouth, however, and puffing forth a cloud of smoke, he replied, quite seriously:

"Stranger things than that have happened, Mr. Johnson." And much stranger things than that did happen.

In the summer of 1829 Mr. Fillmore was the orator on the Fourth of July, and young Hall the reader of the declaration. And this brings me to notice that in those times the "glorious Fourth" was celebrated with a regularity now unknown. Every year, in the vicinity of 1830, I find a record of its due commemoration in Aurora, and I presume the same was the case in other villages of similar size.

By 1830 the opponents of Jackson's administration throughout the country had generally assumed the name of National Republicans, but in Western New York the anti-masons still absorbed nearly all the elements of opposition. In the autumn of that year they elected Bates Cooke, of Niagara county, to represent this district in Congress. Mr. Fillmore, who had meanwhile moved to Buffalo and entered into partnership with his old tutor, Joseph Clary, was chosen to the assembly for the third time, and with him Nathaniel Knight, for several years supervisor of Collins. Mr. Knight was the first assemblyman from any town south of Aurora and Hamburg.

The supervisors for the year were Moses Case of Alden, T. S. Hopkins of Amherst, Jonathan Hoyt of Aurora, Ebenezer Walden of Buffalo, Epaphras Steele of Boston, William Lewis

of Colden, Oliver Needham of Concord, Nathaniel Knight of Collins, John Brown of Clarence, Jonathan Hascall, Jr., of Evans, Levi Bunting of Eden, Elisha Smith of Hamburg, Chase Fuller of Holland, John Boyer of Erie, Horace Clark of Sardinia, and Moses McArthur of Wales.

By the census of 1830 the population of the county was 35,719; showing an increase of 11,413, or forty-seven per cent., in five years. The population of Buffalo was 8,668.

From a register of that year I find there were then twenty-seven post-offices in the county. I have been able to give the exact year of establishing many of them; the others had all been established between 1825 and 1830. Nine of the sixteen towns had one office each, viz., Alden, Amherst, Boston, Eden, Erie, Colden, Concord, Holland and Sardinia. Each was of the same name as the town, except those in Amherst and Concord, which were named respectively Williamsville and Springville. Four towns had two offices each; Aurora having Willink and Griffin's Mills; Clarence having Clarence and Cayuga Creek; Evans having Evans and East Evans; and Wales having Wales and South Wales. Two towns had three offices each; Buffalo, with Buffalo, Black Rock and Tonawanda; and Hamburg, with Hamburg, East Hamburg and Hamburg-on-the-Lake. Finally, the fertile fields of Collins must have attracted a very large emigration, or else its people were especially given to letters, as that town had four post-offices in 1830—Collins, Angola, Collins Center and Zoar.

It will be seen that two of the offices, discontinued when that of "Hamburg" was located at Abbott's Corners, had been re-established, though one of them took the name of "Hamburg-on-the-Lake," instead of "Barkersville." The office at "Collins" was then kept by Elijah Kerr, and it must have been near that time that the little hamlet there, which had previously been known as Rose's Corners, began to be called Kerr's Corners. The postmaster at South Wales was then Nathan M. Mann, but he officiated only a little while, when David S. Warner was appointed, who, with a short interval, has held the place ever since. He is probably the senior postmaster in the county.

In this year (1830) the Springville academy building was finished, and the academy opened in it, under the charge of Hiram

H. Barney, Esq., afterwards principal of Aurora academy, and still later commissioner of schools of the State of Ohio. This was the first incorporated high school, with a building of its own, in the county, not excluding Buffalo.

It will have been observed that there was in the county, outside of Buffalo, about thirty thousand people. There are now sixty thousand. But of these about ten thousand are residents of the towns carved out of the Buffalo Creek reservation, and of Grand Island. So that, in the towns then settled, outside of Buffalo, the increase has been but about sixty-six per cent. The country towns had then begun to assume something of their present appearance. Nearly all the villages now existing were then in being—and many of them were nearly as large as now. The buildings in them, however, were by no means as large or expensive as at the present day. There was probably not a three-story building in the county except in Buffalo, and several villages were not yet in existence.

Log houses were frequently seen, even on the main roads, and on the back roads were still in the majority. Few new ones, however, were built. Of the frame houses the common ones retained their original wood-color, but the aristocracy covered theirs with a coat of glowing red. The old well-sweep still held its own, or was replaced by a windlass; the pump was still an institution seldom affected by the farmer.

The animals of the forest were still often seen, though in decreasing numbers every year. Along the Cattaraugus the bears lasted longer than the wolves, and were still frequent in 1830. One case, occurring about that year, was especially noted, in which an old Sardinia bear and four cubs were slain in one short campaign. She was driven across the creek, and shot in Cattaraugus, but swam back to her home on this side, where she and all her family were finally slain.

Deer frequently strayed even into the immediate vicinity of Buffalo. Mr. William Hodge mentions killing deer about 1828 and '30 in the vicinity of the Insane Asylum, and as far south as the Normal School.

On the 20th of January, 1830, the renowned orator, Red Jacket, died at his log cabin near the mission church, on the Buffalo reservation. He had sunk very low since the time of his

great struggle over the question of his rank, even hiring himself to keepers of museums to be exhibited for money. Having returned home, and being satisfied that death was approaching, he rallied his waning powers to give counsel to his people. He visited his friends at their cabins, conversed with them on the wrongs of the Indians, and urged them when he was gone to heed his counsels, to retain their lands and to resist all efforts to convert them to the habits of the white man. According to McKenney's "Indian Biography," he was anxious that his funeral should be celebrated in the Indian manner.

"Bury me," he said "by the side of my former wife; and let "my funeral be according to the customs of our nation. Let "me be dressed and equipped as my fathers were, that their "spirits may rejoice at my coming. Be sure that my grave be "not made by a white man; let them not pursue me there."

Nevertheless, while thus earnest, he was not so bitter as he had formerly been. Almost at the last he convened a council of his people, both Christians and pagans, and advised them to live in harmony, leaving every one to choose his religion without interference. He was taken mortally sick (with cholera morbus) during the council, but a resolution was adopted in accordance with his wishes, at which he was much pleased.

He said he knew the attack was fatal, and refused all medical aid. One of his last requests was that, when she saw him nearing his end, his wife should place in his hand a certain vial of water, to keep the devil from taking his soul! Thus, enveloped in the superstitions of his race, passed away the last of the Iroquois orators, the renowned Red Jacket. His precise age was unknown, but he was probably about seventy-five. His sons had all died before him, and but one or two daughters remained of a large family, who mostly fell victims to consumption.

Notwithstanding his wishes, as the members of the Wolf clan, to which he belonged, were largely Christian, as well as his wife and her family, he was buried according to the rites of the Christian Church.

The remains of Red Jacket had a strange fate, though one not inconsistent with his own hapless career. For many years his grave remained unmarked. In 1839, however, a subscription was set on foot under the auspices of the actor, Henry

Placide, and a marble slab with a suitable inscription placed over his grave. Long after the Senecas had removed to the Cattaraugus reservation, some admirers of the orator, perhaps fearing that his grave would be ploughed up, took up his bones and put them in a lead coffin, intending to remove them to Forest Lawn. His Indian friends, however, heard of the project with strong dislike, and immediately came from Cattaraugus, and demanded and obtained the precious relics. The monument was afterwards transferred to the rooms of the Buffalo Historical Society, where it still remains.

The most singular part of the matter is that the bones were never reburied. When visiting the Cattaraugus reservation, with other parts of the county, last year, I was informed that the mortal remains of the most celebrated orator produced by the aborigines of America are preserved in a bag, under the bed of an old Indian woman who has constituted herself their custodian !

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1831 TO 1835.

"The Year that Holt was Hung."—An Ugly Captive.—Political.—Newstead Abbey and Newstead Town.—The White Woman.—Buffalo Incorporated.—Fillmore in Congress.—The Cholera.—Allen, Haskins and Pierce.—A Midnight Scene.—Commercial Progress.—Lancaster.—Senators, Assemblymen, etc.—Speculation.

The first year of the new decade passed almost eventless away. The circumstance which most strongly marks it on the memories of old settlers is that it was "the year that Holt was hung." Murders had not yet become so common in the county as to be flung aside with the morning paper. Nearly seven years had passed since the last one, and a still longer time was to elapse before there should be another; so, although the execution of the wretch who slew his wife with a hammer, in their room over his grocery, on Main street, Buffalo, obtained no such celebrity as the awful doom of the three brothers in 1825, still it formed an era to which local events are often referred by the men of that day. The crime was quickly punished; it was committed in October, Holt pleaded guilty the same month, and he was executed on the 22d of November.

It was "the year that Holt was hung" as Mr. Mills Hall, of Wales, relates, that nearly if not quite the last wolf was seen in that town. Having set a trap for the purpose, young Hall, with his brother and another youth, visited it one morning, and found a gigantic sheep-destroyer fast in its embrace. Desiring to exhibit their trophy alive, Mills Hall seized the wolf by the head, one of the others supported his shoulders, and the third grasped his hind legs, and thus they bore him home. On the way his wolfship twisted his head around so as to slightly bite his foremost bearer, but the latter only tightened his grasp, and the struggling animal was carried safely to the little village of Hall's Hollow. There he was exhibited for a few days, and then slain. A bounty of twenty-five dollars rewarded the captors.

The Anti-Masonic-National-Republican opposition to Jackson's administration still maintained absolute control of the county, and in the fall of 1831 elected to the assembly William Mills, of Clarence, and Horace Clark, of Sardinia. At the same time, Stephen Osborn, of Clarence, was chosen sheriff, and Noah P. Sprague, of Buffalo, county clerk. Edward Paine, of Aurora, was appointed associate-judge.

In April, 1831, the name of the town of Erie was changed to "Newstead." It is said that there was much confusion and difficulty on account of letters going to Erie, Pennsylvania; so it was determined to alter the name of the town, preparatory to changing that of the post-office. But the inhabitants could not agree on a satisfactory appellation, and so sent their petition to Mr. Fillmore, their representative in the assembly, requesting him to have the name changed, and leaving him to select a substitute. This being a matter of taste, he consulted his wife. Mrs. F. happened to be reading Byron at the time, and she recommended the title of the noble poet's ancestral hall, "Newstead Abbey," as a convenient and euphonious designation for the new town. Her husband adopted her suggestion, and in due time the name of Byron's home was transferred to the northeastern town of Erie county. As I understand it, the name of the post-office was also changed to Newstead, and afterwards again changed to Akron.

The supervisors for 1831, so far as known, were T. S. Hopkins of Amherst, Moses Case of Alden, John Brown of Clarence, Ebenezer Walden of Buffalo, Epaphras Steele of Boston, Nathaniel Knight of Collins, Thomas M. Barrett of Concord, Erastus Bingham of Colden, Levi Bunting of Eden, Elisha Smith of Hamburg, Chase Fuller of Holland, John Boyer of Newstead, George S. Collins of Sardinia, and Moses McArthur of Wales.

It was about 1831 or 1832 that the first Germans—that is, native Germans, as distinguished from Pennsylvania Germans—began to settle in the county, outside of Buffalo. They located in and about White's Corners, now Hamburg, and some of them found their way to the high land in the eastern part of Eden. Among minor matters it may be noted that the Congregational church at Griffin's Mills (Aurora) was built in 1831.

In the year 1831, there came to make her home in the county of Erie one whose life had been of the most strange and romantic character—albeit the romance was of such a kind that few would wish to undergo her experience. Born on the Atlantic, in 1743, while her parents were migrating from the old world to the new, the restless billows of Mary Jemison's birthplace well typified the ever-changing vicissitudes of her long career.

At the age of twelve she saw her home on the frontier of Pennsylvania destroyed by a band of savages, and all its inmates save herself—father, mother, brothers and sisters—all slain by the same ruthless foes. But the caprice so often manifested by the Indians toward their captives induced them to spare her alone, and to take her to Fort Du Quesne. There she was adopted by two Indian sisters, who treated her with the greatest kindness and gave her the name of Dehhewamis.

Ere she had hardly attained to womanhood she was required to wed a young Delaware brave, and, though she became the bride of an Indian with great reluctance, yet, as she always declared, his unvarying kindness was such as to gain her affection. "Strange as it may seem," she said, "I loved him." For some unknown reason she went (on foot, with her children on her back) several hundred miles from her home on the Ohio, to take up her residence among the Senecas on the Genesee, where her husband was to join her. He died, however, before doing so. This is the most curious part of her story, and it looks as if there was something hidden about that portion of her life.

She soon married a Seneca, a monster of cruelty toward his enemies, but kind to her. By this time she had become so fully reconciled to her savage surroundings that she declined the opportunity to return to the whites, afforded by the peace between England and France, and when an old chief sought to take her to Fort Niagara by force, to obtain the reward offered for prisoners thus delivered up, she used every means to baffle his efforts, and finally succeeded in doing so.

She remained among the Senecas during the Revolution, her cabin being the habitual stopping-place for Butler, Brant and other leaders, while going on or returning from their raids against the wretched inhabitants of the frontier. When Sullivan came on

his mission of vengeance, her cabin and crops were destroyed with the others; I say "her," for she seems to have been the principal personage in the household, as well of her second as of her first husband. With her two youngest children on her back and three others following after, she hunted up a couple of runaway negroes living with the Senecas, whose crop had escaped destruction, and by husking their corn on shares obtained enough to feed herself and children through the winter.

She remained near her old haunts when most of the Senecas came west, and, when they sold to Phelps and Gorham, she managed to procure for herself a reservation of near thirty square miles. This might have afforded her an ample fortune, and she did draw considerable revenue from it. But she showed little desire for the comforts of civilized life, and retained to a great extent the dress, appearance and habits of a squaw. She was commonly called "The White Woman" by the Indians, and even those of her own race generally adopted this curious appellation.

In time her second husband died, leaving his savage characteristics to his eldest son, who developed a nature of the deepest malignity, inflamed by drunkenness, who in different quarrels slew his only two brothers, and who was finally murdered himself in a drunken brawl. Sad indeed were the latter days of the old "White Woman," and they were made still more so by the progress of settlement, which shut her off from the wild companions of so many years.

At length she determined to spend her remaining days with her old friends, and in 1831, at the age of eighty-eight, she disposed of her remaining interest on the Genesee and came to make her last home on the Buffalo Creek reservation. There, amid the barbaric customs which had so strangely fascinated her, she survived for two more years; and then Mary Jemison, Dehhewamis, "The White Woman," found rest in the grave, after nine decades of a tempest-tossed life.

In 1832 Buffalo was incorporated as a city, with five wards, and a population of about ten thousand. Two aldermen were elected in each ward, and they, under the charter, elected the mayor and other executive officers. Dr. Ebenezer Johnson was chosen the first mayor of the infant city. George P. Barker, a

young lawyer admitted to the bar only three years before, was the first city-attorney.

The supervisors chosen in the spring, of which there happens to be a complete list, were Jacob Hershey of Amherst, Jonathan Hoyt of Aurora, Epaphras Steele of Boston, James L. Barton of Buffalo, John Brown of Clarence, Erastus Bingham of Colden, Nathaniel Knight of Collins, Carlos Emmons of Concord, James Green of Eden, Orange H. Dibble of Evans, Elisha Smith of Hamburg, Chase Fuller of Holland, John Boyer of Newstead, George S. Collins of Sardinia, and Nathan M. Mann of Wales.

In the fall (which, as will be remembered, was the time of Jackson's second election) the two Erie county members of assembly, Mills and Clark, were both rëelected. At the same time Millard Fillmore was chosen to represent the thirtieth district of New York in Congress.

To achieve such a success at the age of thirty-two is most creditable to the abilities of any man; and was all the more so in this case, the young congressman having had absolutely no aid from extraneous sources, and having achieved his entrance into the national legislature only nine years after commencing life in a country village, as an attorney in the Common Pleas. What makes this rapid success the more remarkable is that Mr. Fillmore had none of those attributes by which the people are most easily captivated. He was neither a "hail-fellow" nor a brilliant orator. He succeeded, and succeeded rapidly, by virtue of industry, perseverance, clear reason and sound judgment.

It will be understood that the only difficulty was in regard to the nomination; the election of the anti-administration candidate was a foregone conclusion. The strength of the feeling is shown by the fact that in this county William L. Marcy, the Democratic candidate for governor, received but 1,743 votes, while 4,356 votes were cast for Francis Granger, the opposition nominee.

Israel T. Hatch, a young lawyer just come to Buffalo, was appointed surrogate in place of Martin Chittenden, deceased. The latter, together with Henry White, a brilliant and much-admired young advocate, had fallen a victim to the cholera; for it was in 1832 that that dreadful scourge made its first visit to the shores of America.

Passing along the main thoroughfares it inflicted a heavy blow upon Buffalo, but it did not spread into the country. Yet none knew what track the destroyer might take, and for many weeks every village waited with fear and trembling the appearance of this hitherto unknown scourge. During a few weeks of July and August there were a hundred and eighty-four cases in Buffalo, of which eighty proved fatal. The number was large, for the population of the young city, and the horror was rendered greater by the mysterious character of the disease.

The board of health of the new city had for a time plenty of business. It consisted of Dr. Johnson, as mayor, Lewis F. Allen and Roswell W. Haskins. Dr. Marshall was city physician, and Loren Pierce was city undertaker. All were vigilant and effective, and spared no sacrifice in their efforts to counteract and circumscribe the disease.

Very likely Mr. Haskins was no more zealous than the others, but his peculiar ways drew particular attention. An energetic and somewhat eccentric man, a printer by trade, and for many years a newspaper proprietor, his character, as described by his contemporaries, reminds one in some respects of that of Horace Greeley. Being a person of nervous quickness of movement, and most incisive language, every one noticed what he did, and many still remember him hurrying around the stricken city, removing patients to the hospital, and sometimes carrying one down stairs, from some wretched tenement house, on his own strong shoulders.

Of a far different temperament, Mr. Pierce performed his duties in the quietest possible manner, bearing the victims of the mysterious destroyer to their last repose with unfailing promptness and unflinching courage, but as calmly as if nothing unusual was transpiring. Mr. Allen, who himself served throughout the crisis with unflagging zeal, narrates a curious instance of the *sang froid* of the worthy undertaker.

One night, in the very height of the cholera season, Mr. A. had retired to rest at his residence on Main street, exhausted with the labors of the day, when a terrific thunder-storm burst forth, extending far into the night. About midnight he was awakened by a rapping at the window. Going to the door he found Loren Pierce. The thunderbolts were resounding contin-

uously through the heavens, the lightnings were flashing from side to side of the abyss of darkness, and the rain was falling in torrents. It was an era of dread, and visions of some new form of disease and death rose before the appalled mind of the member of the board of health.

"For Heaven's sake, Pierce," he exclaimed, "what is the matter? Is there any new trouble?"

"No," quietly replied the undertaker, "nothing new; I have six bodies in the wagon out here, going to the graveyard, and I thought perhaps you would like to know that everything was all right."

"Good heavens," said the astonished Allen, "have you called me up on such a night as this, to tell me that you are taking six corpses to the graveyard in a storm that is almost enough to drown the city? You don't mean to say that you are alone?"

"Oh no," replied Pierce, "Black Tony is with me—he is holding the horses now—I guess we can manage it." Mr. Allen had no directions to give—in fact had nothing to say—and away through the midnight storm and darkness moved the man of death, with his solitary assistant, Black Tony, to dispose of his ghastly burthen. It must have taken nearly all night, yet at eight o'clock the next morning he was at the meeting of the board of health, composed and quiet as ever.

The cholera returned in 1834, when another epoch of death and dismay occurred. It then ceased its visitations for nearly twenty years, and, save by the immediate friends of the dead, it was soon forgotten in the increasing prosperity of the city and county.

The citizens of Aurora had made frequent endeavors to turn Mr. Johnson's private academy into an incorporated institution, and when that gentleman removed to Buffalo, in 1832, they raised, by subscription, the money to erect a building and obtained a charter from the legislature. The building was completed, and the school opened, the next year. In 1834, also, a church-building was erected by the Presbyterians in Springville, and another at "Cayuga Creek," the first, respectively, in the present towns of Concord and Lancaster. About the same time (I cannot learn the exact year) the same denomination built a church at Lodi—now Gowanda.

We have now reached the time when the tide of commerce began to roll steadily through our borders. The fertile lands of Michigan, northern Indiana, northern Illinois and other parts of the West were opened to settlement, and their products began to find their way into the Erie canal. Its boats now went loaded to the sea coast, and brought back crowds of emigrants, most of whom went farther west, but many of whom sought the companionship of their countrymen in and around Buffalo.

Almost at the same time, the closing of the United States Bank caused the chartering of a large number of State banks, which issued an immense amount of paper money. Frequently the guaranties required by the States were wretchedly inadequate, especially in the West and South, so that the new money had no better foundation than the faith of the people.

From these two causes, the increase of western production, and the increase of money, the one real and the other fictitious, there followed a general inflation of business and advance of prices. This inflation extended throughout the United States, but nowhere else was it quite so balloon-like in its growth and collapse as along the line of the great lakes, where both the causes above mentioned were in their fullest vigor.

The first symptoms of the great "land speculation" began to be seen in 1833, but they were comparatively slight. In 1834 the tide rose considerably higher, and in 1835 there was a decided fever, though still the mania had not reached its climax. Before noticing farther the great speculation which holds so important a place in the history of the county, there are some routine matters that need mention.

There had been no new towns formed since the creation of Colden, in 1827. Though Clarence was about seventeen miles long, (besides the part included in the reservation,) the steady-going Pennsylvania Germans who formed a large part of its population were in no haste to create a new set of officers. At length, however, the numbers in the southern part of the town became so large that a division was almost imperative, and on the 20th of March, 1833, a new town was formed, comprising the eleventh township in the sixth range of the Holland Company's survey, and that part of the mile-and-a-half-strip, sold in 1826, which lay opposite that township—besides a nominal

jurisdiction over the unsold Indian land, to the center of the reservation.

As Clarence had been named after one English dukedom, that of another was selected for the new town, which received the appellation of Lancaster. The flourishing settlement so long called "Cayuga Creek" was now known by the more convenient designation of "Lancaster," and not long afterwards the official name of the post-office at that point was similarly changed. This was emphatically the church-building era in Erie county. Every few months a new one was erected. The Methodist church at Clarence Hollow was built in 1834. The same year the Baptists built one at Springville.

In the fall of 1833, Joseph Clary, of Buffalo, and Dr. Carlos Emmons, of Springville, were chosen to represent the county in the assembly, and Albert H. Tracy was reëlected to the State senate. This gentleman had taken very high rank in the senate, especially when that body was sitting as the Court for the Correction of Errors, then the highest judicial tribunal in the State. A large number of the opinions in that court were written and delivered by Mr. Tracy, and the acumen and legal knowledge displayed in them showed that, had he accepted the judgeship tendered him by Governor Clinton, he would have stood in the first rank of the judicial minds of the State. The mayor of Buffalo in 1833 was a gentleman with the peculiar name of Major A. Andrews.

In 1834, William A. Mosely, of Buffalo, and Ralph Plumb, of Lodi, were elected to the assembly, while Lester Brace, of Black Rock, was chosen sheriff, and Horace Clark, of Sardinia, county clerk. In that year, too, Thomas C. Love was elected to Congress by the dominant party, in place of Mr. Fillmore. Usually the dropping of a congressman by his own party, after a single term, indicates that he has been "shelved," but such was not the result in Mr. Fillmore's case. Dr. Johnson was again chosen as mayor of Buffalo.

In 1835 the assemblymen elect were George P. Barker, of Buffalo, and Wells Brooks, of Concord—the latter a young lawyer who had established himself, as had C. C. Severance, at Springville, two or three years before. Buffalo's first officer this year was Hiram Pratt, who will be remembered as the young cavalier

of the Chapin girls, in their flight from Buffalo on the terrible 30th of December, 1813.

The supervisors for the three last years of the semi-decade included in this chapter were as follows: Alden, 1833 and '34, Jonathan Larkin; 1835, Moses Case. Amherst, for the three years, John Hutchinson. Aurora, 1833 and '34, Jonathan Hoyt; 1835, John C. Pratt. Buffalo, 1833, John G. Camp; 1834, unknown; 1835, James L. Barton. Boston, 1833, Epaphras Steele; 1834, John C. Twining; 1835, Thomas Twining. Concord, 1833, Carlos Emmons; 1834, unknown; 1835, Oliver Needham. Collins, Ralph Plumb, the three years. Colden, Leander J. Roberts, the three years. Clarence, Benjamin O. Bivins, the three years. Eden, 1833 and '34, Harvey Caryl; 1835, Daniel Webster. Evans, Aaron Salisbury, the three years. Hamburg, Elisha Smith, the three years. Holland, 1833 and '34, Moses McArthur; 1835, Isaac Humphrey. Lancaster, 1833 and '34, John Brown; 1835, Milton McNeal. Newstead, 1833, Wm. Jackson; 1834, unknown; 1835, Cyrus Hopkins. Sardinia, Henry Bowen, the three years. Wales, N. M. Mann, the three years.

In 1834 the first daily newspaper was issued in the county, under the name of the Buffalo Daily Star. It was Democratic in politics; so the proprietors of the Patriot, the chief opposition organ, followed suite, on the first day of the next year, with a daily called the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser. The Star was soon united to the Republican, and with it in due time transformed into the Courier. In 1835 the Aurora Standard was established by A. M. Clapp at that village, where it was published for three years.

In 1834 the first work was done on Grand Island by legal owners of the soil. Lewis F. Allen, on behalf of a Boston company, had bought all the lands purchased by Leggett, Smith and others, at the time of the "Ararat" excitement, amounting to about 16,000 acres. The principal object was to cut the white-oak ship-timber with which the island abounded, and send it to Boston. A steam-mill and several houses were erected opposite Tonawanda. About the same time Mr. Allen found Noah's old corner-stone in the possession of General Porter, who had taken charge of it at Noah's request, after it had stood for two or three years behind St. Paul's church. Mr. A. persuaded the general

to let him have it, took it to "White Haven," as he called his little settlement, erected a brick monument six feet square and fourteen feet high, and set the historic stone in a niche on its river front. Nearly all who saw it supposed that Major Noah went through the ceremony of founding his city there, and placed the stone where it was so plainly to be seen—though, in fact, the redoubtable "Judge of Israel" never set foot on Grand Island. The monument remained standing some fifteen years, when, having become dilapidated, it was taken down. The "corner-stone" was removed to various places on the island, but was finally secured by Mr. Allen and presented to the Buffalo Historical Society, in whose rooms it now stands, side by side with the monument of Red Jacket. In view of Noah's idea that the Indians were descended from the lost tribes of Israel, there is a peculiar and poetic fitness in the juxtaposition of the two memorials.

As I have said, a slight advance of prices began to be observed in 1833. They increased through 1834, and in 1835 the great speculation was under full headway. It of course ran highest in Buffalo, but was strongly felt throughout the county. All up the lakes, too, wherever there was a possibility of a harbor, and sometimes where there was not even a possibility, a city was laid out, a magnificent name was given it, and its proprietors became Rothschilds and Astors—on paper. That there was some ground for the advance in Buffalo is shown by the fact that the population had increased from 8,653 in 1830, to 15,661 in 1835, or more than eighty-one per cent. The population of the whole county in 1835 was 57,594, to 35,719 in 1830, an increase of over sixty-one per cent.

The Buffalonians, however, had not quite forgotten everything else in their desire to make money. It was just at the close of 1835 that the Young Men's Association of that city was organized, though it was not chartered till eight years later. Beginning with few members, a diminutive library and an infinitesimal treasury, it has ever since grown with the city's growth, exercising each year a wider influence for intellectual improvement. Church-building, too, had gone on apace, and there were thirteen houses of worship in the youthful city, in place of the six of three years before. One of these was Presbyterian, one Con-

gregational, one Methodist, one Episcopal, one Baptist, one Universalist, one Reformed Methodist, one Unitarian, one German Lutheran, one German Evangelical, one Bethel chapel, and two Roman Catholic. By this time the little village of Collins Center had advanced so that the Methodists built a church there.

In that year, too, the first anti-slavery society in the county was organized at Griffin's Mills. Judge Mills, of Clarence, Judge Freeman, of Alden, Judge Phelps, of Aurora, George W. Johnson, Abner Bryant, and Daniel Bowen, of Buffalo, and Asa Warren, of Eden, were among the leading members, and the work then commenced was continued by yearly meetings and discussions till the abolition of slavery.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SPECULATION AND HARD TIMES.

A Rapid Advance.—A Princely Bargainer.—The King of Speculators.—His Downfall.—The Method of his Forgeries.—Politics and Business.—Opposing the Holland Company.—An Agrarian Convention.

Early in 1836 the flame of speculation blazed up with redoubled energy. I cannot better illustrate the extraordinary state of affairs existing at that time than by repeating an anecdote, related by the late James L. Barton.

In 1815 he had bought two lots at Black Rock for two hundred and fifty dollars; one of two-thirds of an acre, between Niagara street and the river, and one of five acres, about half a mile distant. For a long time there was but a slight advance in the price. In the fall of 1835, however, land rose rapidly, and Mr. B. began to think that those lots might perhaps bring him three thousand dollars.

In the forepart of February, 1836, he left Buffalo, and did not return till the 20th of April. He knew that land was up, and was determined to ask a round price for his lots. As he was passing down Main street, the morning after his arrival, some one met him and inquired:

"How much will you take for those Black Rock lots of yours?"

"Six thousand dollars," was the prompt reply of Mr. Barton. The man hesitated and Barton passed on. A few minutes later he was accosted by another gentleman with the same query:

"What is your price for those Black Rock lots?"

"Seven thousand five hundred dollars," answered Barton.

"I guess I'll take them—let you know to-morrow," said his interlocutor. A little farther down the street a third man stopped him, and as they shook hands said:

"Glad to see you; what will you take for your lots down at Black Rock?"

"I have just offered them to Mr. —— for seven thousand five hundred dollars," replied Barton; "he said he would let me know to-morrow."

"If he doesn't take them, I will," quickly exclaimed the anxious speculator.

By this time Mr. Barton's ideas of the value of his property had become very much elevated. He had gone but a few rods farther when he heard a shout, and a man came rushing across the street, exclaiming as he came up:

"I say, Barton, what is your price for those lots of yours at the Rock?"

"Twenty thousand dollars," immediately replied the excited land-owner.

"What are your terms?"

"Ten per cent. down and the rest in four annual payments?"

"Make it six payments and I will take them," said the other. Barton assented, they walked into an office, the two thousand dollars was paid over, and the next day the deed and the bond and mortgage were exchanged.

Mr. Barton does not state whether he ever received the eighteen thousand dollars secured by bond and mortgage. If he did, he was more fortunate than most of those who sold land on credit in that era.

And it was almost entirely on credit that sales were made. Notwithstanding the cheapness of paper money, bonds and mortgages were still cheaper. Mr. Barton received a larger cash percentage than was usually paid.

There was no such thing as land clear of incumbrance. Second and third mortgages were common. Hon. George R. Babcock relates that nearly the whole of outer lot No. 1, extending from Main street to the first angle of the Terrace, and thence southwestwardly to the dock, was sold for a great sum, and the only money used was the seventy-five cents paid to Mr. B., as commissioner of deeds, for acknowledging the papers.

The late Guy H. Salisbury, in a sketch of those times, declared that everybody was so intent on the subject of buying and selling land, that physicians, when asked how their medicine was to be taken, replied:

"One-fourth down and the rest in three annual installments."

One Patrick Smith, a saddler, being asked by an old customer when he could do a piece of work, replied with dignity :

"My man, I don't do any more business now ; I've bought a lot."

All was excitement. Men of sagacity bought of unknown persons, without knowledge of title or incumbrances. Men of no means built blocks on credit, gave mortgages, and sold out with no security against those incumbrances.

Of the financial magnates of the day, Col. Alanson Palmer was one of the first. Perhaps he ranked as the second greatest man in Buffalo. No one bought or sold with more royal disregard of trifles than he. Seated at table, with a friend, where the champagne passed freely, Palmer suddenly exclaimed :

"I'll give you a hundred and fifty thousand dollars for everything you have, except your wife, babies, and household furniture.

"Done," replied the other.

The bargain was carried out, a small amount was paid down, and the inevitable bond and mortgage were given to secure the remainder.

This princely purchaser spent some of his later years in the poor-house, and died not long since in an insane asylum.

But Benjamin Rathbun was unquestionably the great man of Buffalo, in those halcyon days. Having begun as a hotel-keeper previous to 1825, he had eminently succeeded in that vocation, and had made the name of "Rathbun's Eagle" synonymous with comfort and good cheer.

When the flush times came on he plunged into business and speculation, with a boldness and an apparent success which made him the envy of thousands. He built the American hotel. He built and managed a grand store on the east side of Main street. He entered into contracts of every description, and gave employment to thousands of workmen. He bought and sold land, not only in Buffalo but throughout this whole section of the country.

His ideas were of the grandest kind. He laid the foundation of an immense hotel and exchange, opposite "the churches," which was designed to occupy the whole square between Main, North Division, South Division and Washington streets. The rotunda was to be two hundred and sixty feet high!

Although prices began to drag in the summer of 1836, yet Rathbun still urged forward his gigantic projects. He bought land and laid out a grand city at Niagara Falls, and advertised an auction of lots to come off on the second of August, to extend as many days as might be necessary.

On the appointed day a great number of bidders, from all parts of the compass, were present. During the forenoon the bidding was spirited and sales were numerous. At the dinner table Rathbun sat opposite Mr. G. R. Babcock, the junior member of the law-firm of Potter & Babcock, who, like almost everybody else, combined the land business with that of their regular profession.

"I observed, Mr. Babcock," said Rathbun, "that you made no bids this forenoon."

"No," replied the young man, "the lots sold were not in what I thought the most desirable locality."

"Ah, well," said the great speculator, "come with me after dinner and show me some lots you would like to buy, and I will have them put up."

Accordingly, after dinner the two strolled out over the ground of the future city, and Rathbun appeared to be in the best of spirits. He chatted, laughed, told stories, discoursed of his plans, and seemed to look forward to a future as prosperous as his past was supposed to have been.

As they returned to the hotel, Mr. Babcock observed a carriage at the door. Some one called to Mr. Rathbun to "hurry up." He did so, entered the carriage with one or two others, and drove off toward Buffalo.

Yet, while he was thus jesting with his companion and talking of his future achievements, he knew that his forgeries to a large amount had been discovered, that the country was flooded with his forged paper, and that the gentlemen with whom he rode off had got everything arranged for him to make an assignment of all his property.

On his arrival at Buffalo he was arrested. The forgeries had been discovered in Philadelphia by David E. Evans, whose name Rathbun had forged as endorser on notes to a large amount, which he had deposited as security in a bank in that city. Returning to Buffalo, Evans confronted Rathbun, who

confessed that this was but a tithe of the spurious paper he had set afloat. An assignment was arranged, but in the meantime Rathbun allowed the sale at the Falls to take place, and kept up appearances to the very last.

The arrest of Rathbun hastened, so far as Buffalo and vicinity was concerned, the financial catastrophe impending over the whole country. Work was stopped on all his numerous enterprises. The workmen clamored for their pay, and almost broke out into mob violence. The assignees paid them off, though it required nearly all the assets of the estate. The millionaires of the day turned pale with consternation. If Rathbun had failed, who was safe? His forgeries amounted to enormous sums. It was found that he had been committing them for several years, taking up the old notes as they became due, with money obtained by means of new ones, also forged.

His brother, Colonel Lyman Rathbun, and his nephew, Rathbun Allen, were implicated with him, and the latter turned State's evidence. He was the one who actually wrote the forged names, under the direction of his uncle. The method of operation was as follows: First, they obtained the actual signature of some responsible man, as an endorser for a small amount. A small lamp was then placed in a common candle-box, over which was laid a large window-glass. On this glass was placed the note having the genuine signature, with another for a large amount on top of it. The strong light from below, shining through the thin paper used for notes, brought the lower signature into plain view, and the forger was thus enabled to follow it closely on the paper above. An expert would perhaps have detected the difference, but to the ordinary observer the similitude seemed complete.

These facts, however, did not all come out till the next summer, when Benjamin Rathbun was brought to trial at Batavia, convicted, and sent to the State prison for five years. He served his time, and afterwards regained some of his former prosperity, at his old business of hotel-keeping, in New York city.

Amid the general dismay, the Presidential election probably drew less attention than any other that ever occurred in the county. While Van Buren was elected President, and Marcy

governor, Erie county as usual went heavily for the opposition, which had now assumed the name of the Whig party throughout the country. Anti-masonry had ceased to exist as a political organization, or as a source of present excitement, but its results were seen in the large Whig majorities which Western New York gave throughout the existence of that party. Masonry, too, was utterly extinct in this section, and any attempt to revive it at that time would undoubtedly have caused a renewal of the old excitement. Millard Fillmore, after his two years retirement, was again elected to Congress. The increase of population shown, by the census of 1835, entitled Erie county to three members of assembly, the persons chosen being Squire S. Case of Buffalo, Benjamin O. Bivins of Clarence, and Dr. Elisha Smith, who had for seven years been supervisor of Hamburg. George P. Barker was appointed district-attorney, and Samuel Caldwell surrogate. Judge Samuel Wilkeson was chosen mayor of Buffalo.

The following is a full list of the supervisors for the year: Alden, Moses Case; Amherst, John Hutchinson; Aurora, Lawrence J. Woodruff; Buffalo, James L. Barton; Boston, Thomas Twining, Jr.; Collins, Ralph Plumb; Concord, Oliver Needham; Colden, William Lewis; Evans, Aaron Salisbury; Eden, Harvey Caryl; Hamburg, Elisha Smith; Clarence, Levi H. Goodrich; Holland, Isaac Humphrey; Lancaster, Albert E. Terry; Sardinia, Matthew R. Olin; Wales, Nathan M. Mann.

Tonawanda is not represented in the above list, though that town was formed from Buffalo April 16th, 1836, comprising the present towns of Tonawanda and Grand Island.

The year closed in gloom and anxiety, though the depression had not yet reached its lowest point. Nevertheless, it was during this year that the first railroad was completed in Erie county, that from Buffalo to Niagara Falls.

Steadily prices went down, down, down, all through 1837. Throughout the country, failure, bankruptcy and disaster were the order of the day. As speculation had probably reached its climax in Buffalo, so there the universal reaction was most strongly felt. Fortunes disappeared almost in a night. Mortgages were foreclosed on every hand, and property which but yesterday had been sold for thirty, forty, fifty dollars per foot would

now hardly bring as many per acre. Banks failed everywhere, and the wretched paper money of the country became more worthless than before.

Even in the country towns the reaction, though of course less than in the city, produced great distress, and some who had deemed themselves rich suffered for the necessaries of life.

In the course of 1837, matters probably got about as bad as they could be, so that after that they did not grow any worse; but it was several years before there was any sensible recovery from the "Hard Times," as that era was universally called. Unquestionably the designation was a correct one; for never has the country, and especially this part of it, known so disastrous a financial crisis. The "hard times" inaugurated in the fall of 1873 were mere child's play in comparison.

Even before the crash there had been a steadily growing opposition to the Holland Company, throughout the Holland Purchase, and an increasing desire, on the part of the possessors of lands not paid for, to lighten what they felt to be an intolerable burden, the long arrears of interest then due. When to these was added the weight of universal hard times, the discontent rose to still greater heights.

Meetings were held in many towns, denouncing the company, demanding a modification of terms, requesting the legislature to interfere, and asking the attorney-general to contest the company's title. In February, 1837, there assembled at Aurora a meeting at which the counties of Erie, Genesee, Niagara and Chautauqua were represented, and which boldly assumed the name of an "Agrarian Convention." Dyre Tillinghast, of Buffalo, was president; Charles Richardson, of Java, Genesee county, (now Wyoming,) and Hawxhurst Addington, of Aurora, were vice-presidents; and A. M. Clapp, of Aurora, and H. N. A. Holmes, of Wales, were secretaries. Resolutions were passed denouncing the "Judases" who sided with the company, and requesting the attorney-general to contest its title.

In some localities the people did not confine themselves to resolutions. Without any very decided acts of violence, they made every agent of the company who came among them feel that there was danger in the air. Whenever an attempt was made to take possession of a place of which its holder was in arrears,

armed men gathered on the hillsides, threatening notices were sent, and a state of terror was kept up until the company's representatives became demoralized and abandoned the field.

There was no chance for contesting the company's original title, and the legislature refused to interfere. In most of the towns the settlers, in the course of many weary years, paid up and took deeds of their lands. In a few localities, however, they made so stubborn a resistance, and the company was so long in enforcing its claims, that many of the occupants acquired a title by "adverse possession," which the courts sustained.

By 1837 the German population had increased so that it would support a German newspaper, and, notwithstanding the hard times, a weekly was established by George Zahm, called "Der Weltbürger." It still exists as the "Buffalo Demokrat und Weltbürger."

Notwithstanding the "hard times," a company was chartered to build a macadam road from Buffalo to Williamsville, and actually did build it within a year or two afterwards. This was nearly, or quite, the first successful attempt to replace one of our time-honored mud roads by a track passable at all seasons.

The supervisors of 1837 were Moses Case of Alden, John Hutchinson of Amherst, Lawrence J. Woodruff of Aurora, James L. Barton of Buffalo, Amos Wright of Clarence, Oliver Needham of Concord, William Lewis of Colden, Harvey Caryl of Eden, Aaron Salisbury of Evans, Isaac Humphrey of Holland, John Boyer of Lancaster, Cyrus Hopkins of Newstead, Matthew R. Olin of Sardinia, William Williams of Tonawanda, and Nathan M. Mann of Wales.

In the fall of that year William A. Mosely, of Buffalo, was elected State senator in place of Albert H. Tracy, who then finally retired from public life, at the early age of forty-four, after a twenty-years career of remarkable brilliancy. The assemblymen then chosen were Lewis F. Allen of Buffalo, Cyrenius Wilber, of Alden and Asa Warren of Eden. At the same time Charles P. Person, of Aurora, was elected sheriff, and Cyrus K. Anderson, of Buffalo, county clerk. James Stryker was appointed first judge of the Common Pleas, and Henry W. Rogers district-attorney. Josiah Trowbridge was mayor of Buffalo.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE PATRIOT WAR, ETC.

Outbreaks in Canada.—American Sympathy.—Navy Island.—The Destruction of the Caroline.—Intense Excitement.—Conflicting Rumors.—The Militia Called Out.—Arrival of Scott.—Scott and the British Schooners.—Navy Island Abandoned.—Stealing Cannon.—Expedition up the Lake.—Worth and the Volunteers.—A Mild Winter.—Encampment on the Ice.—A Hemlock Track to Canada.—Chapin's Death.—A Raid by Sympathizers.—The Last Camp.—Buffalo Public Schools.—A Political Revulsion.—An Unsavory Treaty.—Cheektowaga.—Brant.—Black Rock.—Many-term Supervisors.—The Harrison Campaign.

As the winter of 1837–8 approached, the people of Erie county, with those of the rest of the northern frontier, were at least furnished with something else than their own misfortunes to talk about.

For several years there had been a growing discontent in the Canadian provinces with the government of Great Britain. Among the French population of Lower Canada it was quite strong, and at length it broke out in armed rebellion, which was only suppressed at considerable cost of blood and treasure.

After the outbreak there was put down, there were some small uprisings in Upper Canada. But, whatever political opposition there might have been in that section to the home government, there was little disposition to seek the arbitrament of battle, and very few appeared in arms.

What there were sought a position close to the American line in order that they might receive all possible aid from their sympathizers on this side. For it was impossible that anything in the shape of a revolt against British power, whatever the cause, or whatever its strength, should not awaken interest and sympathy on the part of Americans. The two contests in which we had been engaged with that country, and the fact that we owed our national existence to a successful revolt against monarchical government, combined to produce such a result. Secret lodges of "hunters," as they were called, were formed along

the frontier for the purpose of affording aid to the "patriots," which was the designation generally given to the insurgents, and some armed men crossed the line.

William Lyon Mackenzie, an ex-member of the provincial parliament, and the leader of the rebellion in Upper Canada, after a slight and unsuccessful outbreak north of Toronto, fled to Buffalo in the forepart of December, 1837. Meetings were held, and addresses made by Mackenzie, by one T. J. Sutherland, who was called general, and by several Buffalonians. About the middle of the month there was still greater excitement along the Niagara frontier, for it was learned that the main force of the "patriots" had established themselves on Navy island. This was closer to American territory than any other British soil in this vicinity. Between it and Grand Island the channel is less than a quarter of a mile wide, and it was besides convenient of access from the old landing-place at Schlosser.

There were perhaps three or four hundred men on the island. Of these a considerable proportion were Americans, and their commander was General Rensselaer Van Rensselaer, who, I am informed, was a son of the gallant Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, who was wounded on Queenston Heights.

Days passed on. The people were all in a fever to do something for the "patriots." The United States marshal appointed thirty deputies from among the most prominent citizens of Buffalo, to prevent violations of neutrality. The winter was one of unexampled mildness, and vessels still continued to run on both lake and river. On the 29th of December the little steamer Caroline, belonging to William Wells, Esq., of Buffalo, went down to Navy island, the intention being that she should run back and forth between the camp of the insurgents and Schlosser, carrying men and supplies. After discharging freight at the island, she made two trips to and from Schlosser, that afternoon, and then tied to the wharf at the latter place.

Early the next morning hurrying messengers reached Buffalo with the news that a British force had crossed the river, cut out the Caroline, killed fifteen or twenty men, and then set her on fire and sent her over the Falls.

As may be imagined, the excitement was intense. Rumors of every kind flew about the streets. The British had invaded

Grand Island. They had threatened to attack Buffalo. They had killed everybody on board the Caroline and some on shore—etc., etc. Further news, while it refuted some of these stories, confirmed the main statement. The Caroline had certainly been cut loose from the Schlosser wharf by a British force, set on fire, and sent over the Falls.

A man named Durfee was found dead on the wharf the morning after the attack, shot through the brain. His body was brought to Buffalo and buried, the funeral being attended by a vast and excited crowd, after which a speech of extraordinary eloquence and power was made in the park by that fiery young advocate, Henry K. Smith. For a long time it was asserted that from ten to twenty men had been slaughtered on board the Caroline, and even the English official report stated that five or six had been killed. But after thorough investigation it was found that no one was slain except Durfee, though two or three others were wounded.

It soon transpired that the assailing expedition was sent over by Sir Allan McNab, commanding the British forces on the frontier, under an officer of the royal navy, whose proceedings were fully endorsed by Sir Allan, and by the governor-general of Canada. It was as clear a violation of American sovereignty as it would have been of English sovereignty if a successful blockade-runner, during the rebellion, had been attacked and burned in an English port by an American man-of-war. But there was some palliation in the fact that so many of the insurgents were Americans, and Mr. Van Buren, who was then President, was a very pacific personage. So, notwithstanding a long diplomatic contest, no redress was ever obtained.

Sir Allan McNab claimed that the Caroline had been bought by the Navy-islanders. This, however, was denied under oath by Mr. Wells, and the denial was undoubtedly true; for the whole treasury of the "patriots" would have been hardly sufficient to buy a canoe.

The officers and crew of the Caroline numbered ten men, and twenty-five more went on board at Schlosser, on account, as was alleged, of the lack of hotel-accommodations at that place, but probably for the purpose of crossing to Navy island the next morning. It was stoutly asserted that none of the crew or

passengers were armed, but as three of the attacking party were wounded, this looks improbable. It was claimed by some that they wounded each other in the darkness.

Over these, and a hundred other controverted points, the Buffalo Daily Star and the Daily Commercial long kept up a heated controversy, the former accusing the latter of being in the interest of the British, and opposed to the patriots who were striving to throw off the yoke of a foreign tyranny, etc., etc., while the Commercial retaliated by charging the Star with abetting unlawful operations, fomenting war, etc., etc.

Meanwhile, the American authorities were taking vigorous measures both to prevent armed expeditions from going from this side, and to repel further invasion from the other. A company was organized in Buffalo, called the City Guard, under Captain James McKay. By order of Gov. Marcy, Gen. David Burt called out the 47th brigade of militia, (infantry,) the larger part of whom responded, and rendezvoused at Buffalo. Randall's brigade of artillery was also called out, and all its companies marched to the same point. The 47th brigade of infantry was entirely from Erie county, and every town furnished its quota. Among the officers were Col. Orange T. Brown, of Aurora, and Col. Harry B. Ransom, of Clarence. Randall's brigade of artillery covered a much larger district.

On the 5th of January, 1838, the President issued a proclamation, and sent Gen. Scott to the frontier. He was accompanied by Col. William J. Worth, as aide and chief of staff. Scarcely had he arrived, when rumors came that the British were about to cross and attack Schlosser. The troops, regulars and militia, were ordered out and marched to that point. No attack took place and they returned.

A day or two afterwards it was reported that three English armed schooners, lying opposite Lower Black Rock, were about to fire on the steamer Barcelona, which was plying between Buffalo and Navy island. To Lower Black Rock the troops were accordingly marched, and there, sure enough, were seen the three British schooners, lying nearly in line, awaiting the Barcelona, one of them being in American waters and not far from the shore. Scott formed his infantry along the bank, and posted his artillery on the high ground in the rear. Then the veteran

general rode down to the water's edge, hailed the nearest schooner, and ordered her to draw out of American waters, and not to molest the Barcelona, which could then be seen steaming up the river, close along the American shore. After some hesitation, the schooner lifted her anchor and drew off across the line, and the Barcelona passed safely by.

But the "revolution" could not be kept up much longer. The British regulars and Canadian militia concentrated opposite Navy island, fiercely cannonaded the forest which covered it, and prepared to cross the channel. Rensselaer Van Rensselaer was brave enough, but his exchequer was low, his followers few, and the hope of reinforcements cut off by the vigilance of Scott. So, on the 15th of January, his army fled to the American mainland and dispersed in every direction.

Their stolen cannon they gave up to the State authorities. Soon after, however, another attempt was made to furnish the disorganized "patriot" army with artillery. Five of these same cannon were in charge of a body of militia, at Tonawanda, under Colonel Harry B. Ransom. To him came a squad of men, whose acting commandant presented an order for the delivery of the five guns, signed by Winfield Scott, major-general commanding. Ransom hesitated, but a prominent citizen came forward, declared that he knew Scott's handwriting, and that the signature was genuine. So the cannon were delivered—on a forged order. But the "patriots" were obliged to scatter for fear of the United States marshal, and the guns were again recovered by the State.

Meanwhile Brigadier-General Thomas Jefferson Sutherland had gone to the other end of Lake Erie, gathered a few men, and begun issuing proclamations preparatory to an invasion of Canada across the Detroit river. A body of United States regulars was forthwith sent to put a stop to unlawful proceedings in that quarter. It was desired to send with them a small detachment of militia as far as Erie, Pa., to watch movements there. Twenty volunteers were called for, and twenty men responded from the Aurora company, commanded by Captain Almon M. Clapp, then editor of the Aurora Standard.

The regulars and Captain Clapp's detachment went up the lake under the command of Colonel Worth, on the steamboat

Robert Fulton. An incident which occurred on the steamer illustrates the character of that gallant officer. Soon after leaving Buffalo, the regular commissary brought the rations for both regulars and volunteers, and flung them down on the lower deck. The volunteers demurred. They said they were not used to taking their victuals off from the floor, and did not propose to begin then. The commissary roughly told them they might go without. They made known their dissatisfaction to Captain Clapp, who was in the cabin with the regular officers. He at once appealed to Colonel Worth, declaring that his men were accustomed to as decent treatment as himself, and did not relish such conduct.

"Certainly not, certainly not," said Worth; "bring your men into the cabin here and let them have their breakfast."

So the cooks were set at work, and in a short time the squad of volunteers sat down to an excellent breakfast, and did not have to take it off from the deck, either.

Stopping at Dunkirk, the troops went to Fredonia, took two or three hundred stand of arms, stored there by the "patriots," and proceeded by steamer to Erie. A vessel on Lake Erie in January is a sight seldom seen, and the presence of one in the first month of 1838, marks the mildest winter of which there is any record as visiting this county since its settlement. Whenever, during the past winter of 1875–6, reference has been made to the weather as the mildest ever known, if any elderly resident were present, he generally answered: "Not quite; the winter of the patriot war was warmer than this."

The lake was certainly open much longer than in 1875–6. But when the Fulton reached Erie the ice was rapidly forming, so that it was difficult to enter the harbor, and the planking of the boat was badly injured by it. The volunteers remained there eleven days and returned by land.

By this time it was thought the danger of trouble in this vicinity was nearly over, and Burt's infantry and Randall's artillery were both discharged. The Buffalo City Guard, however, had much increased in number, and was organized into a regiment; the first regiment of uniformed militia in the city. James McKay was colonel, Dr. Johnson lieutenant-colonel, and George P. Barker major.

The ice rapidly closed over the whole lake, and this circumstance was taken advantage of by bands of sympathizers to project another invasion of Canada. A company of the Buffalo City Guard and Clapp's volunteers were sent, one cold winter night, in sleighs, to the "head of the turnpike," in Hamburg, and thence three or four miles on the ice, toward the middle of the lake. There they found a most remarkable scene. Thirty or forty men had established themselves there on the ice, built shanties, procured a plentiful allowance of hemlock boughs to sleep on, and were awaiting reinforcements to liberate Canada!

They readily surrendered on the appearance of the troops. Only a part of them had fire-arms, but there were a large number of rude pikes, each consisting of a strong pole with a spear several inches long, and a hook of proportionate size. The shanties were torn down, the arms seized and the would-be heroes dispersed.

One part of their preparations was peculiar enough to deserve especial mention. Extending from their camp, in a straight line, nearly to the Canada shore, was a row of hemlock bushes, waving over the vast field of ice. It was intended that the liberating army should march over in the night. But if they did so there was danger that in the middle of the lake, with an unbroken plain of ice extending in every direction, they might lose their way and perhaps perish with the cold. For the part of the shore where they intended to land was uninhabited, and there would be no lights to steer by. So they put up that line of hemlock boughs to guide them on their conquering way, making holes in the ice with their pikes, planting the bushes, and pouring on water, which soon froze solid around them.

Old Dr. Chapin had been prominent during the winter, making speeches at the meetings of the sympathizers, and feeling all his youthful fires revive at the prospect of another war with England. But his waning powers were unable to keep pace with his feelings, and in February he sickened and died. He was buried on Washington's birthday with military honors, his funeral being attended by a vast crowd from whom, despite his failings, he had long been a subject of respectful attention as one of the founders of the city.

While some of the people, organized in militia companies,

were faithfully at work to prevent the violation of the neutrality laws, their friends and neighbors were willing to run a good deal of risk to aid the insurgents. One of the companies of Randall's artillery-brigade, belonging in Allegany county, had returned home by way of Aurora and Holland, but, owing to the badness of the roads, had been obliged to leave one of their pieces at the latter place. It was stored in a barn to await better traveling. Some of the sympathizers at Aurora determined to secure it for the use of a body of liberators, who were expected to make another effort to cross the lake on the ice. Accordingly, the first sleighing that came, two good teams were hitched to sleighs, which, with several men in each, started just after nightfall for Holland. Passing rapidly over the intervening ten miles, they arrived at that village, drove to the barn where the cannon was kept, loaded it into one of the sleighs, put the caisson into the other, and had the horses going down the creek-road at full speed ere any one else knew what was going on. It is not likely, however, that any one would have interfered, even if they had known, for the feeling of friendship for the insurgents was so general that few cared to oppose it, save when compelled by official duty. The stolen gun was forwarded through Hamburg to the lake shore.

Getting possession of another piece of artillery, the "patriots" assembled to the number of three or four hundred near Comstock's tavern, in Hamburg. But on the 24th of February a detachment of regulars and volunteers, and the crew of a revenue cutter, all under the command of Col. Worth, who had returned from the West, marched out from Buffalo, surprised the camp of the four hundred "patriots," dispersed them, and captured their cannon. This was the last serious attempt to invade Canada from within the borders of Erie county.

Rumors of fighting, however, continued to come from the vicinity of Detroit, but the battles turned out to be of the most trivial character. By the 6th of March even these rumors ceased, and that was the end of the "Patriot War." A few of the volunteer militia, however, were kept in service for three months, and then returned home.

Then there was nothing for the people to think of except the universal depression of business throughout the country. For

this, as is not unfrequently the case, they blamed the administration and the party in power, and already murmurs, deep and far-extending, foreboded their temporary overthrow. There was no need of such aid to the Whigs of Erie county, as they already had an overwhelming majority, but even that majority was doubtless increased by the prevailing discontent.

The supervisors elected in the spring were nearly every man of that party, being as follows: Josiah Fullerton of Alden, Jacob Hershey of Amherst, Joseph S. Bartlett of Aurora, Joseph Clary of Buffalo, Thomas Durboraw of Clarence, Enoch N. Fay of Concord, Leander J. Roberts of Colden, Ralph Plumb of Collins, Levi Bunting of Eden, Aaron Salisbury of Evans, Elisha Smith of Hamburg, Moses McArthur of Holland, Milton McNeal of Lancaster, John Rogers of Newstead, Elihu Rice of Sardinia, William Williams of Tonawanda, and Elon Virgil of Wales.

Ebenezer Walden was mayor of Buffalo that year.

It was during this period, while war seemed imminent, and the country was overwhelmed by financial troubles, that the school system of Buffalo was reorganized. Before that, there had been no public schools there, except district schools, which were unsuited to a city, and were attended only by the children of the poorer classes. But the financial crash of 1837 brought a great many people under that designation. Most of the private institutions went down. The people turned perforce to their long-neglected public schools. After one or two attempts, a satisfactory law was passed in the forepart of 1838, reorganizing the whole school-system of the city, on very nearly the same plan which is still maintained. Oliver G. Steele had been appointed superintendent, and he and N. K. Hall originated the law.

It devolved on Mr. Steele to put the improved system into practical operation. Its principal features were large schools, divided into departments, thorough supervision by the superintendent, and substantially free admission to all children residing in the city. The schools were soon made entirely free, and a central high-school, established a few years later, completed the frame-work of the system. There was great interest manifested in the subject in the summer of 1838, numerous meetings were held, and, notwithstanding much opposition, the people gener-

ally sustained the new plan. Albert H. Tracy, N. K. Hall, Horatio Shumway and Mr. Steele were especially warm in its advocacy, and prompt in suggesting needed improvements. In the summer of 1839 no less than six large, new school-houses were built under Mr. Steele's supervision, competent teachers were employed, and since that time the schools of Buffalo have been maintained in a condition of efficiency probably not surpassed in the State.

In the fall of 1838 the popular discontent made itself plainly visible in numerous State elections throughout the country, Governor Marcy in this State being defeated by William H. Seward, who became the first Whig governor of New York. Millard Fillmore, who had entered public life at the same time with Mr. Seward, was for the third time elected member of Congress from the 30th congressional district. The assemblymen chosen that fall were Jacob A. Barker, of Buffalo, Henry Johnson, of Lancaster, and the Boston pioneer and soldier, Truman Cary.

The year 1838 was also marked by a most strenuous attempt to obtain possession of all the Indian lands in this county, as well as elsewhere in Western New York. A treaty was sanctioned by the executive department of the government, by which the government agreed to give the New York Indians 1,820,000 acres of land in Kansas, and build mills, shops, churches, schools, etc. A council of chiefs was called at the council-house on the Buffalo Creek reservation, in January, 1838. The treaty was laid before them, and also a deed by which they agreed to cede to the Ogden Company all their reservations, for two hundred and two thousand dollars; a hundred thousand for the land, and a hundred and two thousand for the improvements. It received forty-five signatures of chiefs, either actual or claimed, for it was always difficult to tell who were and who were not chiefs.

The treaty was sent to the senate, who amended it by striking out the various appropriations for mills, schools, etc., and inserting the sum of four hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Gillett, United States commissioner, again called the chiefs together, and insisted that the deed was good, even if the treaty was not ratified. General Dearborn, commissioner for Massachusetts, declared it was not. The treaty, as amended, was

signed by sixteen chiefs, and a remonstrance by sixty-three. By some means twenty-six more names were obtained, some say by bribing the chiefs or getting them drunk. But, after all efforts were, used there were only forty-one signatures out of all the ninety-seven claimed by both parties as chiefs, while of the seventy-five undisputed chiefs but twenty-nine were signers.

It afterwards transpired that written contracts had been entered into by which the agents of the Ogden Company agreed to pay certain chiefs considerable sums of money, besides giving them life-leases of their improvements, on condition of their doing their best to help forward the treaty and sale. These payments were to be in addition to the pay for improvements which those chiefs would receive in common with their brethren, and could only be looked on as bribes. Nothwithstanding the defective number of signatures, and the means used to obtain them, the treaty was ratified by the senate. Yet the facts brought to light caused so much popular feeling, and the determination of the Indians was so strong not to go west, that the company was unwilling to proceed to extremities, and did not attempt to remove them. The manner in which the difficulty was finally settled will be described further on.

In March, 1839, three new towns were created. On the 22d of that month the south part of Amherst was cut off and called Cheektowaga, a modification of the Indian name Jiikdowaageh, meaning "the place of the crab-apple tree." It is said to have been so named on the suggestion of Alex. Hitchcock. Amherst was the last of the very large towns of Erie county. Before its division it was eighteen miles long, besides the part on the reservation. Afterwards, there was no town over eleven miles in length.

Cheektowaga was already largely inhabited by Germans, and since then it has been more completely occupied by them than any other town in the county. Curiously enough, considering their habit of living in villages in their native country, they dwelt and dwell entirely separate in this town. There was not, and is not, even the smallest of hamlets within its borders. Yet the soil is probably as fertile as any in the county, and it is cultivated like a garden. Doubtless its nearness to the city prevents the growth of villages. At the time of its erection it had

not even a post-office. It was organized the same year, and Alexander Hitchcock was elected its first supervisor.

On the 25th of March the town of Brant was formed by the legislature out of the south part of Evans, and a part of the Cattaraugus reservation, nominally belonging to Collins. It included the "mile-strip" and "mile-block" sold off from that reservation in 1826. It was doubtless expected, when the town was formed, that the sale of the whole reservation would soon be consummated, in accordance with the "treaty" of 1838, and that Brant would thereby become a town of the ordinary size. This expectation, however, was disappointed and the space outside of Indian teritory is smaller than in any other town in the county. What business there was in the town soon began to be attracted to Brant Center, where a small hamlet grew up. Brant was duly organized, and Jonathan Hascall, Jr., was elected its first supervisor.

The same spring, all that part of the town of Buffalo outside of the city was formed into the town of Black Rock. It extended clear around the city from Black Rock village to the lake shore. Col. William A. Bird was elected its first supervisor. About the same time a law was passed allowing Buffalo a supervisor for each of her five wards, but I have been unable to find a full record of the persons elected, for several years afterwards. The county legislators, so far as known, for the two last years of that decade, were as follows—where but one name and no year is given, the person mentioned held both years: Alden, Josiah Fullerton; Amherst, Jacob Hershey and Timothy A. Hopkins; Aurora, Thomas Thurston; Boston, Epaphras Steele; Buffalo, (for 1839 only,) 1st ward, Miles Jones; 2d, Emanuel Ruden; 3d, Henry Root; 4th, John D. Harty; 5th, Nathaniel Vosburg; Black Rock, William A. Bird; Brant, Jonathan Hascall, Jr,; Clarence, Thomas Durboraw; Cheektowaga, Alexander Hitchcock; Colden, Leander J. Roberts; Collins, Ralph Plumb; Concord, Enoch N. Fay; Eden, Levi Bunting; Evans, Sayles Aldrich; Hamburg, Elisha Smith; Holland, Moses McArthur; Lancaster, Milton McNeal; Newstead, Hezekiah Cummings; Sardinia, George Bigelow and Bela H. Colegrove; Tonawanda, Jedediah H. Lathrop and Theron W. Woolson; Wales, Elon Virgil.

Hiram Pratt was again chosen mayor of Buffalo, in 1839, by the common council. The next winter a law was passed that the mayor should be elected directly by the people; Sheldon Thompson was thus elected in 1840.

It will be seen that, with three exceptions, the supervisors of all the country towns were elected both years, and many of them had already been in service for several years before, and remained so several years afterwards. In fact, it may be said that, as a general rule, supervisors were kept in office a much longer time than in these later days. Dr. Elisha Smith was elected supervisor of Hamburg twelve years in succession (from 1830 to 1841, inclusive). Nathaniel Knight was chosen supervisor of Collins nine years in succession (1824 to '32, inclusive). Immediately after him Ralph Plumb was elected to the same office eleven consecutive years (1833 to '43, inclusive). So that for twenty-four years there were but two supervisors of Collins. After an interval, Plumb was again chosen for two terms. For fourteen years, (1838 to '51, inclusive,) Thomas Durboraw, Orsamus Warren and Archibald Thompson held the supervisorship of Clarence, alternating almost regularly during the time, though Durboraw was the most favored, holding it six of those years.

One of the most decided cases of official long life was that of Moses McArthur, who was supervisor of Holland for fourteen years, after having previously held the same position in Wales for two years. His terms, however, were not in regular succession, but extended from 1833 to 1851. There were several intervals filled by some one else, but every time the people fell back on Moses McArthur. Jonathan Hascall, Jr., whose election as first supervisor of Brant I have just mentioned, also had a career of remarkable official longevity. He had been supervisor of Evans several terms, and on the organization of Brant he was thirteen times elected its chief officer. So great was his local influence that he was popularly known throughout the county by the name of "King Hascall." In later years only one supervisor has remained in office eight years, and the average time of holding the position has been only about half what it was before 1840.

There was little or no change for the better in the financial situation during the last two years of the decade, and the coun-

try grew more and more whiggish. In the fall of 1839, three Whigs, Seth C. Hawley, of Buffalo, Stephen Osborn, of Clarence or Newstead, (the ex-sheriff), and Aaron Salisbury, of Evans, were chosen to represent Erie county in the assembly.

The next year came the great excitement of the Harrison campaign. Erie county was one of the greatest strongholds of whiggery in the United States, and probably developed more than the average amount of the enthusiasm then so prevalent. Nowhere were there more log cabins erected, more hard cider drank, or more coon skins displayed, and nowhere were there louder shouts for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

When election day came the Harrison electoral ticket received nearly two to one in this county, and was triumphantly elected in the nation. Henry W. Seymour was the Presidential elector for this district.

For the fourth time Millard Fillmore was chosen as representative in Congress, that being one term longer than any other member from Erie county has ever held that office. Lorenzo Brown was elected sheriff, and Noah P. Sprague county clerk. The assemblymen chosen were Seth C. Hawley and Stephen Osborn, reëlected, and Dr. Carlos Emmons, of Springville.

The general depression is shown by the fact that the population of Buffalo in 1840 had only increased a fraction less than ten per cent. over that of 1835, having reached the number of 18,213. The population of the whole county was 02,465, an increase of ten and a fifth per cent. over 1835. This is the only instance of the county's increasing faster than the city.

In 1839 a new court of record was established in Buffalo, for the benefit of city litigants, the judge of which was called the recorder. Horatio J. Stow was appointed the first recorder, holding his office for four years.

In 1840 a very important business was started at Akron. A Mr. Delano opened a quarry of water-limestone, and began to prepare the lime for market. There had previously been some small works established at Williamsville, but the Akron water-lime soon took the lead, and its manufacture has ever since been increasing in importance. The small village, existing at that point in 1840, rapidly increased under the stimulus of the new industry, and has ever since steadily kept pace with it.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1841 TO 1845.

The Historic Period Passing Away.—New Treaty with the Indians.—The Tonawanda Reservation Given to them in Fee.—They Surrender the Buffalo Creek Reservation.—Its Occupation by the Whites.—Senators, Assemblymen, etc.—Supervisors.—The Bar of Erie County.—A Brilliant Galaxy.

We have now reached a period within the memory of thousands of not very aged persons, throughout the county. Moreover, the events and circumstances of historic interest have nearly all been passed in review. After describing the hardships of pioneer life, the stirring scenes of border war, the construction of vast public works, and the general growth of the county from a state of nature to that of a civilized community, it would be alike tedious and impracticable to recount with equal particularity the routine life of contemporary existence. The remaining portion of the county's history will therefore be more rapidly passed over. It will not be practicable to note the building of churches, and similar minor events, but I will endeavor to make mention of all facts of especial prominence.

During the period under consideration in this chapter, the county was slowly recovering from the terrible financial crisis heretofore described. It was not till near 1845 that it could be considered to have fully regained a healthy condition, by which time moderate prosperity was the rule throughout its borders, as distinguished from the feverish fortune-making of ten years before. The emigration from Germany steadily continued, and in 1841 the men of culture of that nationality, in Buffalo, established the German Young Men's Association, which has ever since remained the nucleus of German literary culture in that city.

In 1842, the Buffalo and Attica railroad was completed, giving the former place its first railroad connection with the East. Travel westward was still by boat in summer, and by stage in winter. This was a grand time for Buffalo hotels. Every traveler had

to stay in town at least one meal, generally over night, and frequently, in spring and fall, for several days.

So much opposition was made by the Indians to surrendering their lands, under the deed made by a portion of their chiefs in 1838, and so unsavory were the developments in regard to the manner in which the sanction of those chiefs was obtained, that no attempt was made to take possession of the reservations. In May, 1842, however, a new agreement was made, by which the Ogden Company allowed the Senecas to retain the Cattaraugus and Allegany reservations, (subject to the company's preëmption right) and the Indians gave up the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda tracts, on condition of receiving their proportionate value. That is to say, the value of all four of the reservations was estimated as before at $100,000, and the value of the improvements at $102,000, and the company agreed to pay the proportion of $100,000 which, according to the decision of arbitrators, the possession of the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations bore to the possession of the whole, and the proportion of $102,000 which the improvements on those reservations bore to the improvements on the whole. This was satisfactory to the Buffalo Creek Indians, but not to the Tonawandians.

Arbitrators duly chosen decided that the proportionate value of the Indian title of those two reservations was $75,000, and that of the improvements on them $59,000. They also awarded the portion of the $59,000 due to each Indian on the Buffalo reservation, but could not do it on the Tonawanda one, because the inhabitants of the latter refused to let them come on the reservation to make an appraisal. After some two years, one of the claimants undertook to expel one of the Tonawanda Indians by force, whereupon he sued them and recovered judgment; the courts deciding that the proper steps had not been taken to justify the claimant's action. Finally, to end the controversy, the United States opened its purse, as it has so often done before and since to help individuals. The government bought the entire claim of the Ogden Company to the Tonawanda reservation, and presented it to the Indians residing there. Consequently they now own the "fee-simple" of the land as well as the possessory right. That is, they hold it by the same title by which

white men own their lands, except that the fee is in the whole tribe, and not in the individual members.

Meanwhile the Buffalo Indians quietly received the money allotted to them, and, after a year or two allowed for preparation, they in 1843 and '44 abandoned the home where they had dwelt for over sixty years, and which had been a favorite rendezvous of their nation for near two centuries. Most of them joined their brethren on the Cattaraugus reservation, some went to that on the Allegany, and a few removed to lands allotted them in Kansas.

The company immediately had the land surveyed and divided among the members, who began selling it. Settlers began to occupy Elma, and that part of Marilla not included in the purchase of 1826. Even before the Indians removed, Zina A. Hemstreet had previously been allowed to establish a saw-mill at the point, long known as Hemstreet's Mills, now generally called East Elma. Soon a log tavern and a few houses were erected on the site of the present village of Spring Brook. Messrs. Hurd and Briggs came to the site of Elma village in 1845, (or possibly in 1846,) and established large saw-mills there. Ten or a dozen Indian families were still occupying their little clearings in that vicinity. "Little Jo.," "Isaac Jonnyjohn" and "Little Jo.'s Boy," were among the appellations of the heads of these ancient houses. In a year or two more most of them went to the Cattaraugus reservation, and their clearings were occupied by white settlers. New clearings, too, were made here and there, log houses were erected, and all over the reservation the traveler witnessed a reproduction of the scenes of pioneer life. The old towns, it will be remembered, still ran to the center of the reservation, so that the newly opened territory belonged to Black Rock, Cheektowaga, Lancaster and Alden, on the north, and to Hamburg, Aurora and Wales on the south.

The increase by the settlement of this new territory was but slight during the period under consideration, and the county was but partially recovered from the great downfall of 1837, yet the census of 1845 found us with a population of 78,635, against 62,465 in 1840. Buffalo had 29,773 in 1845, to 18,213 in 1840. Though still strongly Whig, the county was not so overwhelmingly so in the previous years. The old anti-masonic feeling was

passing away, new settlers of various politics were coming in, even among the Americans, and the immigrants of foreign birth were very largely Democratic.

In 1842, Mr. Fillmore declined a reëlection to the office which he had so long and so creditably filled. During the last two years of his service he was chairman of the commitee of ways and means, the most important post in the house of representatives next to that of speaker, and discharged its duties with marked ability and fidelity. The judicial quality of his mind was especially noticed. Said the veteran statesman, John Quincy Adams, of Mr. Fillmore, in the fall of 1842: "He was one of the ablest, most faithful, and fairest-minded men with whom it has ever been my lot to serve in public life." William A. Moseley was elected to Congress in Mr. F.'s place.

In 1844, when Henry Clay was nominated for President by the Whig national convention, Mr. Fillmore's name was presented by the delegates from New York, and from some of the Western States, for the second place on the ticket. Mr. Frelinghuysen was, however, selected, and then the Whigs, with hardly a division, chose Mr. F. as their candidate for governor. The State, however, as well as the nation, went for Polk, and Silas Wright was elected governor. Jonathan Hascall, Jr., of Brant, was the presidential elector from this county. Dr. Carlos Emmons, of Springville, was chosen State senator.

By this time that pleasant village—Springville—had become of sufficient importance to sustain a newspaper, and the Springville Express was established; being published there for four years. In 1845 the Buffalo Daily Express was founded by A. M. Clapp. The Buffalo Daily Telegraph, a German paper, was established the same year, and Dr. Austin Flint founded the Buffalo Medical Journal, a monthly devoted to medical science.

In the fall of 1841 the people elected to the assembly Squire S. Case of Buffalo, William A. Bird of Black Rock, and Bela Colegrove of Sardinia. In 1842 they chose George R. Babcock of Buffalo, Wells Brooks of Concord, and Milton McNeal of Lancaster. In 1843 the successful candidates were Daniel Lee of Buffalo, Amos Wright of Clarence, and Elisha Smith of Hamburg. In 1844, Daniel Lee was reëlected, his associates

being Truman Dewey of Evans, and John T. Bush of Tonawanda. The next year Mr. Bush was reëlected, his colleagues being Judge Nathan K. Hall of Buffalo, and James Wood, the Wales pioneer.

In 1843 Manly Colton, of Buffalo, was elected county clerk, and Ralph Plumb, of Collins, sheriff. Thomas C. Love, the ex-congressman, was appointed surrogate in 1841, and succeeded by Peter M. Vosburgh, of Aurora, in 1845. Henry W. Rogers was appointed district attorney in 1841, and Solomon G. Haven in 1844. Nathan K. Hall was appointed first judge of the Common Pleas in 1842, but resigned in 1845, being succeeded by Frederick P. Stevens.

The mayors of Buffalo for this semi-decade were Isaac R. Harrington in 1841, George W. Clinton in 1842, Joseph G. Masten in 1843 and '45, and William Ketchum in 1844.

The records of supervisors for this period are nearly complete, except in the city of Buffalo, where there appears to have been none preserved until 1844. So far as known the list is as follows:

Amherst, 1841, '42 and '43, Timothy A. Hopkins; 1844 and '45, John Hershey. Alden, 1841 and '42, Dexter Ewell; 1843, '44 and '45, John D. Howe. Aurora, 1841, '42 and '44, Thomas Thurston; 1843, Jonathan Hoyt; 1845, Hezekiah Moshier. Boston, 1840 and '41, Epaphras Steele; 1842, Ezra Chaffee; 1843, John Brooks; 1844, Orrin Lockwood. Black Rock, 1841 and '45, William A. Bird; 1842, Alvan Dodge; 1843, Samuel Ely; 1844, Robert McPherson. Brant, 1841, '42, '43 and '44, Jonathan Hascall, Jr.; 1845, Job Southwick.

Buffalo, 1st ward, 1844, Walter S. Hunn, 1845, Charles S. Pierce; 2d ward, 1844 and '45, Noah H. Gardner; 3d ward, 1844 and '45, Henry Daw; 4th ward, 1844, George W. Clinton, 1845, Dyre Tillinghast; 5th ward, 1844, John M. Bull, 1845, Francis C. Brunck.

Clarence, 1841, Thomas Durboraw; 1842 and '44, Archibald Thompson; 1843 and '45, Orsamus Warren. Colden, 1841, '42 and '43, Philo P. Barber; 1844, Samuel B. Love; 1845, Benjamin Maltby. Cheektowaga, 1841, '43 and '44, Alexander Hitchcock; 1842, Darius Kingsley; 1845, James Warner. Collins, 1841, '42 and '43, Ralph Plumb; 1844 and '45, John L. Henry. Hamburg, 1841, Elisha Smith; 1842, Isaac Deuel; 1843, Joseph Foster; 1844, Clark Dart; 1845, Amos Chilcott. Holland, 1841, Samuel Corliss; 1842, '43, '44 and '45, Moses McArthur. Lancaster, 1841, Norman R. Dewey; 1842, '44 and '45, Milton McNeal; 1843, Elijah M. Safford. Eden, 1841, '44 and

'45, William H. Pratt ; 1842, James Tefft ; 1843, Harvey Caryl. Sardinia, 1841 and '45, Bela H. Colegrove ; 1842 and '44, Frederick Richmond ; 1843, George Bigelow. Wales, 1841, Ira G. Watson ; 1842, Elon Virgil ; 1843 and '44, Isaac Brayton ; 1845, David S. Warner.

These were the halcyon days of the Erie county bar. Unless all traditions are utterly false, our county, during the period from 1830 to 1850, was distinguished by a galaxy of legal luminaries hardly surpassed in the State ; a galaxy which probably reached its greatest brilliancy between 1840 and 1845.

The celebrated firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven had dissolved, and its second member had gone upon the bench, but juries were still occasionally swayed by the persuasive yet candid advocacy of Millard Fillmore, and often delighted by the wit and tact of Solomon G. Haven. Then the old court-house, which has just been torn down, rang with the fiery denunciations of Henry K. Smith, whose dark features and fervid speech reminded one of the Cuban shore on which he was born. Then a younger orator, of elegant yet commanding presence, lifted up his voice in tones of alternate pathos and scorn, till men from both city and country willingly surrendered their hearts to the eloquence of Eli Cook. Then Thomas T. Sherwood fumed and fretted around the bar, and thundered in somewhat sledge-hammer style, but all the while kept up an excellent understanding with the jury, forced his own ideas into them by main strength, and carried verdicts by the score. Mr. S. seems to have been predisposed toward his overwhelming style of conducting a case, not only by his temper but his judgment. He believed in pounding. On one occasion the junior counsel in a suit in which he was engaged opened the case to the jury. As he was about to close, Mr. Sherwood got his ear and whispered:

"Go over with the case again, and make this point—and this one—and this one."

"Why," replied the surprised junior, "I have made all those points already."

"Yes, I know," said Sherwood, "but hammer it into them—hammer it into them." And by "hammering it into them," he gained many a case.

Of a far different order of mind, deliberate and impressive in speech, logical in intellect, and thoroughly versed in legal lore,

was John L. Talcott, one of the few survivors of that brilliant throng. A. H. Tracy seldom appeared in the legal arena, but was recognized as possessing forensic abilities of the highest class. The veteran Potter, the Nestor of the profession, was an authority on every thing relating to real estate, and his partner, George R. Babcock, had already attained a prominent position.

Henry W. Rogers, who was district-attorney during most of the period in question, ranked high as a learned and successful practitioner, as did also Congressman Moseley, Dyre Tillinghast, Benj. H. Austin and the future judge, Seth E. Sill. The county had not been so fully absorbed into the city as now, and Albert Sawin and Lafayette Carver, of Aurora, Wells Brooks and C. C. Severance, of Springville, and some others, were resorted to by numerous clients.

But the bright particular star of the bar of Erie county, the orator on whose lips juries and audiences hung with most intense delight, was George P. Barker. The period of his great brilliancy extended from about 1835 to '45, during the last three years of which time he was State attorney-general, when his health began to decline as he drew toward the close of his brief and brilliant career. Others might have had a better knowledge of law, more logical methods of argument, or more skill in the management of cases, but none had such wondrous powers of language, none had such control over the feelings of an audience. No matter whether in the court-room or on the political platform, whether in city hall or on back-woods stump, his name never failed to draw a numerous audience, and his voice never failed to charm those whom his name had drawn. Being a radical Democrat, his party was in a hopeless minority in the county and the district, but he clung to it with unwavering fidelity. Had fortune given power to his political friends, he would doubtless have been chosen to represent them in Congress, and would have been expected to measure lances with the most brilliant paladins of debate in the national tournament.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1846 TO 1850.

Prosperity.—The University of Buffalo.—The Medical Department.—Hamilton, Flint and White.—The New Constitution.—Officials of the Period.—Mr. Fillmore Nominated for Vice-President.—The Free-Soil Movement.—The Buffalo Convention.—Mr. Fillmore Elected Vice-President.—He Becomes President.—The Compromise Measures.—Mr. Haven Elected to Congress.—Hamburg Divided.—Mayors and Supervisors.—The Ebenezer Society.—German Progress.

We now find the subject of this history in a condition of decided prosperity. Money was reasonably plenty, without being so abundant as to cause fears of another crash. After long years of labor, most of the farmers had their land paid for, or so nearly as to be able to see their way through. On all the back roads handsome farm-houses were being erected in place of the log structures of primeval times. New churches sent up their spires in almost every hamlet, and the old log or red frame school-house was frequently replaced by a neat, white building, the typical American school-house of the present day.

The villages showed less improvement than the farming country; for Buffalo more and more absorbed the trade of all the country around. That city was again on the high tide of success. No financial depression could long hinder the growth of the mighty West, and, as there were no through lines of railway, its produce must be poured through the Erie canal. Great fleets transferred their cargoes of grain from the lake to the canal, at Buffalo, and the vicinity of the harbor swarmed with thousands of laborers.

New streets were laid out, and old ones pushed their way farther into the country. New and better buildings rose, too, on the sites of old ones, but not of a very high order; Buffalo has never been distinguished by the splendor of its architecture. The grand crash of 1836 came too soon to allow the newly-found wealth of the citizens to bloom into architectural magnificence, and probably remembrance of it has tended very strongly

to repress all seven-story aspirations. Not only has no attempt been made to equal Rathbun's abortive Exchange, but the business blocks of Buffalo are plainer in appearance than those of almost any other city of its size in the country.

One grand project was originated about 1845, but it was only partially carried out. This was the "University of Buffalo." A charter was procured for a grand institution of learning, intended to rival Harvard and Yale, with separate departments for the liberal professions. Under this charter, the medical department was organized in August, 1846, as the Buffalo Medical College. It soon took, and has ever since maintained, high rank among American institutions of that class, while the university of which it was to be a part has disappeared even from the imaginations of men.

Dr. Frank H. Hamilton, Dr. Austin Flint and Dr. James P. White soon took the lead among the instructors of the infant college, and are designated as its founders by those who best know its history. After bringing the institution to a high degree of efficiency, Hamilton and Flint went to the city of New York, where they now stand in the front rank of the physicians of the metropolis, while Dr. White remained at the head of the Buffalo college.

In 1846 a new State constitution was formed, being, except some amendments, the same under which we now live. By its provisions, judges, district-attorneys and nearly all other officers were to be elected by the people. It also provided that senators should hold but for two years, and that there should be a senatorial district for every senator, and an assembly district for every assemblyman. The court of Common Pleas was exchanged for a county court, presided over by a county judge. There were no associate judges, but in criminal cases he was to be assisted by two justices of sessions. The State was also divided into eight judicial districts, each of which elected four justices of the Supreme Court, Erie county being in the eighth district. The new constitution was ratified by the people in 1846, but no officers were elected under it until the next year.

In the fall of 1846, Timothy A. Hopkins of Amherst, son of the early pioneer and soldier, General Hopkins, was elected sheriff, and Moses Bristol of Buffalo, county clerk. At the same

time Horatio Shumway of Buffalo, John D. Howe of Alden, William H. Pratt of Eden, and Obadiah J. Green of Sardinia, were elected to the assembly. The increase from three to four members was the result of the new apportionment, under the census of 1845.

A special election was held in June, 1847, to choose judicial officers and district-attorneys, as directed by the new constitution. The eighth judicial district being overwhelmingly Whig, four Whig justices of the Supreme Court were elected, among whom were Seth E. Sill of Buffalo, and James Mullett of Chautauqua county, who also kept an office in Buffalo. In this county, however, owing to a defection among the Whigs, all their candidates were defeated—for the first time since the organization of the party. The Democrats elected Frederick P. Stevens county judge, Peter M. Vosburgh surrogate, and Benjamin H. Austin district-attorney.

In the succeeding autumn the first State officers were chosen under the new constitution. Millard Fillmore was nominated by the Whigs for comptroller. The fight between the "Hunker" and "Barnburner" wings of the Democracy was then in full blast, and Mr. Fillmore and his associates were elected by a large majority. At the same time John T. Bush, of Tonawanda, was chosen as State senator from the 31st senatorial district, (Erie county,) with the following assemblymen: Elbridge G. Spaulding and Harry Slade of Buffalo, Ira E. Irish of Hamburg, and C. C. Severance of Concord.

In June, 1848, after Gen. Taylor had been nominated for the Presidency by the Whig national convention at Philadelphia, Mr. Fillmore was selected for the second place on the ticket. The Democratic national convention nominated Cass and Butler for President and Vice-President, but the contest was not confined to the two tickets just named. The "Barnburners," or Radical Democrats, had espoused the cause of the Wilmot Proviso, which was intended to exclude slavery from the territory lately acquired from Mexico. The proceedings of the Democratic convention at Baltimore not having been satisfactory to them, the "Barnburners" met in convention at Utica, and nominated Martin Van Buren for President, with a Vice-Presidential candidate from the West, who declined the honor.

As it was desired, however, to unite as many as possible of the opponents of slavery-extension throughout the country, the celebrated Buffalo convention was called to meet in that city. Thus it was that on the ninth day of August, 1848, the Queen City of the Lakes was crowded with distinguished strangers and with numerous residents of the vicinity, about to take part in the only political assemblage of national interest which has ever met within its limits.

It was a mass convention, attended by men from every Northern State, and also from Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. A great tent had been erected in the court-house park, and at noon the multitude assembled beneath it was called to order. Nathaniel Sawyer, of Ohio, was elected temporary chairman.

A committee on permanent organization was then appointed, consisting of one from each State represented. Of its members many have since died, and all have ceased to be known in political circles, with one exception: Michigan was represented by Isaac P. Christiancy, now senator from that State.

At the beginning of the afternoon session the park was filled with an eager throng, and large numbers congregated in the adjacent streets. The committee on organization, through their chairman, Preston King, reported the name of Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, as president of the convention, who was forthwith elected. Thereupon a committee of two escorted to the chair a small, unpretending man, scarcely forty years of age, but looking somewhat older from partial baldness, who then for the first time became prominent before the nation, but who has since been a leader among its statesmen, has fulfilled its most important diplomatic trusts with consummate skill, and now remains almost the only survivor of the then eminent members of the convention, over which he presided twenty-eight years ago.

One of the committee who attended him to the chair was a robust, broad-shouldered man, about thirty-eight years old, with a bold, high forehead, a compressed mouth, and a face written all over with the evidence of courage and determination. This was Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, then just entering on his brilliant and useful national career.

A committee on resolutions was appointed, of which Benjamin

F. Butler was chairman. That gentleman has been obliterated, as it were, by another political luminary bearing the same name, but in his day Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, was a power in the land, being the right-hand man of Mr. Van Buren in his political contests, and attorney-general of the United States during his friend's Presidency.

For the purpose of equalizing the representation a committee of conference, consisting of six conferees-at-large from each State, and three from each congressional district, was appointed by the delegates of the respective States, to whom was referred the nomination of candidates.

While awaiting the action of these committees several gentlemen addressed the convention, and members of the celebrated Hutchinson family sang their inspiring songs of freedom. Among the speakers none attracted more attention than a tall, white-haired old man, whose bold and vehement denunciations of slavery were cheered to the echo by the multitude. This was Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, long known as the Nestor of the anti-slavery contest. There were several other speakers, and seated modestly with the Massachusetts delegation was a young gentleman, since well known to fame as Richard H. Dana, Jr.

The committee of conference met at the court-house in the evening, and appointed Salmon P. Chase chairman, but declined to nominate candidates until the convention should have adopted a platform of principles.

The next morning the proper committee reported a series of resolutions, embodying the creed of the free-soilers, which was substantially the same as that afterwards promulgated by the Republican party. While repudiating all claim on the part of the Federal government to interfere with slavery in the States, they declared that that institution should be prohibited in all the territory subject to the jurisdiction of Congress. "No more slave States and no slave territories," was the summing up of the whole. Of course they were enthusiastically adopted.

On this action being reported to the committee of conference, which had met in the Second Universalist church, they proceeded to the nomination of candidates. The selection was by no means a foregone conclusion. Although they were entering on an utterly hopeless contest, and although Mr. Van Buren had

been nominated by a convention of the Free-Soil Democrats of New York, who constituted the bulk of the new party, yet there was a strong feeling among the thorough-going anti-slavery men in favor of selecting Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire.

Mr. Butler was called on by the committee of conference to explain the position of Mr. Van Buren, and did so at considerable length. When the informal ballot was taken Martin Van Buren had 244 votes and John P. Hale 181, while 41 were reported as scattering. Mr. Van Buren had only 22 majority over all others. However, the vote was at once made unanimous.

On consultation, the feeling in regard to the choice for Vice-President was found to be so strong in one direction that all other names were withdrawn, and Charles Francis Adams was unanimously nominated.

It was not until the evening of that day that the names adopted by the committee were reported to the mass convention. Mr. Adams, being one of the nominees, called Mr. Chase to the chair, who submitted the nominations to the assemblage. The multitude, which filled the great tent to its utmost capacity, responded with tumultuous cheers, and Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams were made the standard-bearers of the "Free Democratic" party in the coming campaign.

David Dudley Field then read a letter from Mr. Van Buren, several short but vigorous speeches were made, and it was eleven o'clock ere an adjournment was carried, and the Buffalo Convention became a thing of the past. Although its nominees did not carry a single State, yet its action had a strong influence in strengthening the growing opposition to slavery propagandism, which at length resulted in the entire overthrow of the institution.

Its only apparent result that year, however, was to give the State of New York to the Whigs, and cause the election of Gen. Taylor and Mr. Fillmore. At the same time, Elbridge G. Spaulding was chosen as member of Congress from Erie county, the assemblyman elect being Benoni Thompson of Buffalo, Augustus Raynor of Clarence, Marcus McNeal of Newstead, and Luther Buxton of Evans. Christian Metz, Jr., was elected county treasurer.

The next spring a citizen of Erie county was installed in the

second office in the Republic. As Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore's only duty was to preside over the senate, a duty for which his equable temperament and judicial turn of mind peculiarly fitted him.

In the autumn of 1849, George R. Babcock was chosen State senator, while Orlando Allen and Elijah Ford of Buffalo, Ira E. Irish of Hamburg, and Joseph Candee of Sardinia, were elected to the assembly. Le Roy Farnham of Buffalo was chosen sheriff, and Wells Brooks of Concord, county clerk.

On the 9th day of July, 1850, General Taylor died, and Millard Fillmore became President of the United States. He was then fifty years of age; it was twenty-one years since he had entered public life as a member of the assembly, twenty-seven years since he had commenced the practice of law in Aurora, and thirty-one years since he had been a clothier's apprentice.

His first task was of course the formation of his cabinet. In selecting its members, after making Daniel Webster secretary of state, Thomas Corwin secretary of the treasury, and John J. Crittenden attorney-general, he called his former student and partner, Nathan K. Hall, who had been a member of Congress but a single term, to the office of postmaster-general. The seeming favoritism occasioned some comment, but Mr. Hall's unquestioned integrity, sound judgment and laborious devotion to duty well fitted him for the post to which he was called, and it is doubtful if it has ever been more worthily filled.

Congress was still in session when Mr. Fillmore became President, and all through the hot summer months it continued to wrestle with problems caused, and passions aroused, by the same question of slavery which ten years later came to a bloody arbitrament. Both houses at length passed the celebrated "Compromise Measures" embodied in five acts, which provided for the admission of California, the organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah without any prohibition of slavery, the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and the summary return of fugitive slaves, claimed to have escaped from one State to another. The President signed them all. The last named act, commonly called the Fugitive Slave Law, was strongly denounced by a large portion of the Whig party, as well as by a considerable number of the northern Democrats.

It is not necessary here to discuss the merits or demerits of that law, nor of the compromise measures generally. Notwithstanding the opposition just referred to, all those measures were sanctioned by a majority of both parties, and for a short time the excitement regarding slavery sank to comparative quiet.

Mr. Fillmore's friends were naturally desirous that his own county should be represented by some one who approved his course, and it was probably for that reason that Solomon G. Haven, the third member of the renowned firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven, was brought forward as a candidate for Congress. There was a very earnest contest for the Whig nomination, but Mr. Haven carried the convention, and was duly elected in November. By the census of 1850 the population of the county was 100,993, an increase of 22,358 in five years, while that of Buffalo was 42,261, an addition of 12,488 to the number in 1845.

Near the close of this decade, (about 1848,) the village on the Cattaraugus, first called Aldrich's Mills and then Lodi, suffered another change of title. The fact that there were a village and a post-office called Lodi, in Seneca county, caused constant confusion in regard to letters. There had by this time grown up a thriving place on both sides of the Cattaraugus, the people of which thought themselves numerous enough to be incorporated as a village. They determined to have a name entirely unique, and they succeeded. The village was incorporated as "Gowanda," and it is safe to say that that name is not mistaken for any other. The village is partly in Erie and partly in Cattaraugus counties, and has, since its incorporation, been steadily growing into one of the most flourishing places in Western New York.

No new town was formed during the semi-decade under consideration until October 15th, 1850, when Hamburg, which had stood unchanged since 1812, was divided by the board of supervisors, who were then intrusted with the necessary power. All but the two western tiers of lots in township Nine, range Seven, were included in the new town, which received the name of Ellicott. It was organized by the election of officers the next spring. The name was soon changed to East Hamburg.

The mayors of Buffalo, during the five years treated of in this

chapter, were Solomon G. Haven in 1846, Elbridge G. Spaulding in 1847, Orlando Allen in 1848, Hiram Barton in 1849, and Henry K. Smith in 1850. The following is a list of the supervisors of the county, so far as known, during the same period :

Alden, 1846, John D. Howe ; 1847 and '48, Alexander Kellogg ; 1849, Nathan Willis ; 1850, Ziba Durkee. Amherst, 1846, John Hershey; 1847, '48 and 49, Jasper B. Youngs ; 1850, unknown. Aurora, 1846, Hezekiah Moshier ; 1847, '48 and '50, Hiram Harris ; 1846, William Boies. Black Rock, 1846, William A. Bird; 1847, Robert McPherson ; 1848, '49 and '50 Warren Granger.

Buffalo, First ward, 1846 and '47, W. W. Stanard ; 1848, Van Rensselaer Newell ; 1849, H. W. Millard ; 1850, C. S. Pierce. Second ward, 1846, N. H. Gardner ; 1847, '48, '49 and '50, William Ketchum. Third ward, 1846, Moses Bristol ; 1847 and '50, Henry Daw ; 1848 and '49, Jeremiah Staats. Fourth ward, 1846, Dyre Tillinghast ; 1847 and '48, Henry P. Darrow ; 1849, Horatio Warren ; 1850, I. V. Vanderpoel. Fifth ward, 1846, '47 and '48, Peter Curtis ; 1849 and 50, E. J. Baldwin.

Boston, 1846, '47 and '49, Orrin Lockwood ; 1848, Allen Griffith ; 1850, John Anthony. Brant, 1846, '47, '49 and '50, Jonathan Hascall, Jr.; 1848, Horace Goodrig. Clarence, 1846, and '50, Thomas Durboraw ; 1847, Archibald Thompson ; 1848 and '49, Orsamus Warren. Cheektowaga, 1846, '48 and '49, Manly Brown ; 1847, Alexander Hitchcock ; 1850, E. P. Adams. Colden, 1840, Benjamin Maltby ; 1847 and 48, Cyrus Cornell ; 1849 and '50, Charles H. Baker. Collins, 1846, '47 and '48, Thomas Russell ; 1849 and '50, Ralph Plumb. Concord, 1849, C. C. Severance ; 1850, C. C. Sears. Eden, 1846, Wm. H. Pratt ; 1847 and '49, Pardon Tefft ; 1850, Nelson Welch. Evans, 1847, Joseph Bennett ; 1850, John Borland. Hamburg, 1846, Clark Dart ; 1847 and '48, Isaac Deuel ; 1849, Jesse Bartoo ; 1850, Jacob Potter. Holland, 1846, '47, '49 and '50, Moses McArthur ; 1848, Philip D. Riley. Lancaster, 1840 and '48, Jonathan W. Dodge ; 1847, Milton McNeal ; 1849, Robert Neal ; 1850, Henry Atwood. Newstead, 1850, H. S. Hawkins. Sardinia, 1840, B. H. Colegrove ; 1847, and '48, Thomas Hopkins ; 1849, Joseph Candee ; 1850, Henry Bowen. Tonawanda, 1840 and '47, James Carney ; 1848, '49 and '50, J. H. Phillips. Wales, 1840 and '47, David S. Warner ; 1848, '49 and '50, James Wood.

I will now devote a few pages to a brief account of a peculiar society, which settled in the county during the period under consideration. Soon after the final sale of the Buffalo Creek reservation and the removal of the Indians, a German society began negotiations for the purchase of a large tract near Buffalo. About the year 1845, five thousand acres were conveyed to them, to which they afterwards added five thousand more. Their tract lay at the west end of the reservation, in the present

town of West Seneca, and embraced the old Indian village and the clearings around it.

In 1845 and '46, the purchasers moved to their new home. They were generally known as the Ebenezer Society, and comprised nearly two thousand Germans—men, women and children—mostly from Rhinish Prussia, and Hesse. All their property was held in common, everything being controlled by a board of managers, or trustees. These were commonly called "elders," but were not religious ministers. These managers directed what buildings should be built, what lands should be ploughed, what crops should be sown.

They lived in separate families, but the managers allotted to each their allowance of provisions and clothing. A law was passed permitting them to hold their property according to their own regulations, and throughout their residence in the county they had very little communication with the outside world, except through their agents. Of these the chief, and the principal manager of their outside business, was Charles Meyer, a native of the city of Hamburg, who had been a merchant in Brazil, and was a most excellent business man and financier. Hon. George R. Babcock was their legal adviser.

Their residences, which were large, substantial, frame buildings, capable of holding two or more families, were grouped in two villages, and two or three smaller clusters. What most struck the eyes of their American neighbors, was their method of working. The sight of great gangs of men and women, fifty to a hundred in number, engaged in the ordinary avocations of the farm, was something entirely new to the eyes of Erie county people. Especially striking was it to see, in harvest-time, on the rich flats of the Cazenove, a row, half a mile long, of women, a few yards apart, reaping with sickles the grain of the community.

Another curiosity to Yankee eyes was the shepherd, with his little portable residence and his watchful dogs, pasturing his sheep by the roadside, and on the grass-bordered paths leading through the grain. By this means every spear of grass was saved, and not a spear of grain was lost.

Their religious creed appears to have been somewhat like that of the Quakers. They depended much on spiritual insight, but did not neglect stated services. Prayers were held every day.

They strenuously avoided all conflicts of every description. At one time, under a law passed by the legislature, a circular was sent out by the secretary of state of New York to all city, town and village authorities, asking for information which might bear on numerous social questions. Each local board was requested to state how many paupers there were within their jurisdiction, how many lawsuits in a given time, how many crimes committed, how many minor offenses, etc., etc. On receiving one of these circulars, the Ebenezer managers took it to Mr. Babcock, who explained its meaning, and told them to draw up an answer to its queries. In due time they returned with the reply. It was very simple; there were no paupers among them; none of them had ever received any relief from the civil authorities; none of their number had ever been convicted of or indicted for any crime; none had ever been punished for any misdemeanor; none of them had ever had a lawsuit, either among themselves or with outsiders. And the report was literally true. In one or two cases of quarrels with outsiders, the managers immediately settled them without allowing them to go to a legal arbitrament.

Meanwhile the German element had increased largely in both city and country. After the disturbances in Europe in 1848, a fresh impetus was given to German emigration. Some brought capital; nearly all brought habits of industry, frugality and order which were certain to bring them at least a moderate degree of success. Many were added to the German settlements in Collins, Eden, Hamburg, Cheektowaga and Lancaster, and still larger numbers filled up Batavia and Genesee streets, and began to spread over all the northeastern part of Buffalo. The German love of music soon began to show itself in their adopted country. In 1847 the Buffalo "Liedertafel" was organized, and has ever since remained a permanent institution of the city.

In 1850 Mr. George J. Bryan founded a newspaper called the Daily Queen City. Two years later the name was changed to the Buffalo Evening Post, under which name it is still published. The Springville Herald (weekly) was also in that year established in Springville by E. D. Webster. After divers changes it is now the Journal and Herald. Still another journalistic venture of that year, which has proven permanent, was the Buffalo Christian Advocate, the organ of the Methodist Church.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE SIXTH DECADE.

General Improvement.—Stump Fences.—West Seneca.—Enlargement of Buffalo.—North Collins.—Grand Island.—President Fillmore's Administration.—County Officers and Members of the Legislature.—Supervisors.—Marilla.—Political Changes.—The American and Republican Parties.—The Contest of 1856.—Mr. Fillmore's Retirement.—His Father.—"The Old Colonel."—A Curious Scene.—Another Official List.—The Panic of 1857.—Elma.—Removal of the Ebenezer Colony.—Perfect Honesty.—Supervisors after Increase of Buffalo.—1860.—The Approaching Storm.

The forepart of this period was likewise a time of great general prosperity. The farmers, now mostly out of debt, still further improved their property, and even the back roads showed hundreds of neat, white houses, with outbuildings to correspond. Before their front yards, handsome board or picket fences superceded the crooked barrier of rails, which still did duty around the rest of the farm. As the old well-sweep had been superceded by the windlass, so the latter was now replaced by the still more convenient pump.

It was about this time that the farmers in the pine districts began to rid themselves of their veteran stumps. The hardwood stumps rotted down in a few years after the trees were cut, but the pines remained intact after twenty, thirty, or even forty years of lifelessness, and seemed likely to defy the attacks of centuries. Machines of various kinds were invented, and ere long the business of pulling stumps became an important part of the industry of the piney regions. These, when pulled, were generally placed in the road-fence, the bottoms of their roots facing outward, forming one of the most durable, though also one of the homeliest enclosures ever known. Notwithstanding the general improvement in the rural districts, the amount of grain raised did not increase, as the farmers engaged more and more in the dairy business, and in raising hay, potatoes, etc., for the Buffalo market. As a rule, the villages remained nearly

dormant, though exceptions were seen in Akron, Lancaster, Marilla, White's Corners, Angola and Gowanda. Tonawanda, too, for a while did considerable grain business, but in 1854 or '55 its elevator was burned, and trade again suffered a depression.

On the 16th of October, 1851, a new town was formed, called "Seneca." It was entirely a part of the Buffalo Creek reservation, and comprised almost all that part of it previously embraced in the towns of Black Rock, Cheektowaga, Hamburg and East Hamburg. The Ebenezer colony comprised the greater part of its inhabitants. As its name clashed with one somewhere else in the State, it was changed the next spring to "West Seneca." There had been an attempt, two years before, by the board of supervisors, to organize a town with substantially the same boundaries, by the appropriate name of Red Jacket, but I believe it failed through lack of confirmation by the legislature.

Buffalo continued to engulf the business of the county; its streets pushing out in every direction, and its houses overflowing the old city line into the town of Black Rock. At length it was determined to extend the municipal boundaries, and, as the population was then rapidly increasing, it was thought best to make the city large enough for all exigencies. Accordingly, by a new charter, granted in April, 1853, the whole town of Black Rock was included in the city of Buffalo. The new metropolis was nine miles long, north and south, by from three to six miles wide, with an area of about forty square miles. This magnificent municipal domain was divided into thirteen wards, which still remains the number. The mayors, up to this time, were James Wadsworth in 1851, Hiram Barton in 1852, and Eli Cook in 1853.

Ever since the division of Amherst, Collins had been the largest town in the county. On the 24th of November, 1852, that part of it north of the line between townships Seven and Eight (except the southernmost tier of lots) was formed into a new town called Shirley, the name being derived from a little hamlet and post-office two miles southwest of Kerr's Corners. But, as in the case of East Hamburg, the inhabitants soon became tired of any name which did not remind them of the old town in which they had so long resided, and the next spring "Shirley" was changed to "North Collins."

That same autumn, on the 19th of October, Grand Island was organized as a town. Thus, at length, the locality which had been the seat of "Governor" Clark's independent nationality, and of Major Noah's Hebrew-judge government, was supplied with the more humble, but more appropriate, organization of an American town. The population was still sparse, and mostly distributed along the shores of the Island, but their isolated position made a separation seem desirable.

President Fillmore's course, after the passage of the compromise acts, was in harmony with his party, and his administration of the government was creditable both to his ability and integrity. He was, however, considered the leader of the conservative portion of the party, and when the Whig national convention assembled, in 1852, he was opposed by all those who considered themselves more progressive, especially in regard to slavery. The convention nominated Gen. Scott, over both Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster. Though his selection was looked on as a defeat of the conservatives, yet the "platform" was as decidedly in favor of the compromise measures as Mr. Fillmore himself could have desired. As it turned out, it made but little difference who received the nomination, since the Whig party was overwhelmingly defeated, and probably would have been with any candidate it could have selected.

The previous year (1851) George R. Babcock had been re-elected to the State senate, while for the assembly the successful candidates were Israel T. Hatch of Buffalo, Jasper B. Youngs of Amherst, Aaron Riley of Aurora, and C. C. Severance of Concord. At the same time, Jesse Walker was elected county judge, and Charles D. Norton surrogate.

In 1852 Judge Walker died, James Sheldon (son of the early lawyer of that name) was appointed in his place for a few months, and in November was elected for the full term. A little later, Mr. Williams resigned the district-attorneyship, and John L. Talcott was appointed for the remainder of the term. In that November, also, S. G. Haven was reëelected to Congress, Joseph Candee, of Sardinia, was chosen sheriff, and Wm. Andre, of Buffalo, county clerk. The members of assembly then elect-were Almon M. Clapp of Buffalo, Wm. T. Bush of Tonawanda, Israel N. Ely of Cheektowaga, and Nelson Welch of Eden.

In 1853, Albert Sawin, who had removed from Aurora to Buffalo, was elected district-attorney, and James O. Putnam State senator. The assemblymen chosen were Wm. W. Weed and Rollin Germain of Buffalo, Charles A. Sill of Wales, and Edward N. Hatch of Boston. Benjamin F. Greene, of Buffalo, was elected a justice of the Supreme Court in place of Justice Sill, deceased, or rather in place of Justice Taggert of Batavia, who occupied the seat of the deceased justice a short time, by appointment.

The supervisors up to the time of the extension of Buffalo were as follows:

Amherst, 1851 and '52, Emanuel Herr; 1853, Christian Z. Frick. Alden, 1851, Asa Munn; 1852 and '53, Nathan Willis. Aurora, 1851 and '52, Daniel D. Stiles; 1853, George W. Bennett. Boston, 1851, Perry Cobb; 1852, Orrin Lockwood; 1853, E. Blanchard. Brant, 1851 and '52, Jonathan Hascall; 1853, Kester Tracy. Black Rock, 1851, Warren Granger; 1852, Samuel B. Love; 1853, Frederick P. Stevens. Buffalo, first ward, 1851 and '52, Miles Jones; 1853, Patrick Milton. Second ward, 1851 and '52, Orlando Allen; 1853, Charles E. Young. Third ward, 1851, E. D. Loveridge; 1852, L. E. Harris; 1853, P. W. Sawin. Fourth ward, 1851, I. V. Vanderpoel; 1852 and '53, Joshua M. Wilbur. Fifth ward, 1851, E. J. Baldwin; 1852 and '53, Charles E. Clarke. Cheektowaga, 1851, Manly Brown; 1852, Israel N. Ely; 1853, Marvin Seamans. Colden, 1851 and '52, William A. Calkins; 1853, O. P. Buffum. Clarence, 1851, '52 and '53, James D. Warren. Concord, 1851, '52 and '53, Seth W. Goddard. Collins, 1851, Thomas Russell; 1852 and '53, S. Cary Adams. Ellicott, 1851, Amos Chilcott; East Hamburg, (to which the name of Ellicott was changed,) 1852, Isaac Baker; 1853, Jacob Potter. Evans, 1852, Joseph Bennett; 1853, Myron D. Winslow. Eden, 1851 and '52, Nelson Welch; 1853, Pardon Tefft. Grand Island, 1853, John Nice. Hamburg, 1851 and '52, John Clark; 1853, Ira Barnard, Jr. Holland, 1851, Moses McArthur; 1852, Abner Orr; 1853, Ezra Farrington. Lancaster, 1851 and '52, Henry S. Bingham; 1853, J. Parker. Newstead, 1851, Lorenzo D. Covey; 1852 and '53, Edward Long. North Collins, 1853, E. W. Godfrey. Sardinia, 1851 and '52, Joseph Candee; 1853, Mitchel R. Loveland. Tonawanda, 1851, '52, and '53, Theron W. Woolson. Wales, 1851, James Wood; 1852 and '53, Charles A. Sill. West Seneca, 1852, Levi Ballou, Jr.; 1853, Erasmus Briggs.

On the 2d day of December, 1853, a new town was formed, called Marilla. It comprised all of the old Buffalo Creek reservation within the limits of Wales and Alden, except the mile-and-a-half-strip on the north side, first sold off. A strip about a mile and a quarter wide, within the limits of the survey township, (township Ten, range Five,) but lying outside and east of

the reservation, had for convenience been left in Genesee county at the original division, in 1808, so that Marilla is only about four and three fourths miles wide by five and a half long. A settlement had grown upon the east line of the tract first sold, which in its early days went by the uncouth name of Shanty Town, the inhabitants being largely devoted to the manufacture of shingles. When the rest of the reservation was sold, the rude hamlet began to assume the appearance of a village. Niles Carpenter built a store there about 1850, and afterwards a tavern. When the new town was organized, the chief settlement, too, soon took the name of Marilla, white houses began to appear, streets were laid out, and in a very short time the ancient "Shanty Town" became one of the handsomest little villages in Western New York.

Up to this time (1853) the Whig party had, during its whole existence, maintained complete control of the county, electing every member of Congress, every State senator, nearly every assemblyman, and all the county officers except in 1847, when there was a temporary defection. At each election the result could be predicted with almost infallible certainty. But in 1854 came the repeal of the Missouri compromise, followed by the general indignation of the North, and the taking of steps to organize a new, anti-slavery party. Almost at the same time the American, or "Know-Nothing," party began its existence in secret lodges, which soon spread rapidly over a large portion of the country. Its creed of opposition to foreign and papal influence found many supporters, but its chief strength was received from the conservative members of the Whig party, who saw the time had come for abandoning that organization, but were unwilling to join either the Democrats or the anti-slavery men. The new party made a full set of nominations in this State, their candidate for lieutenant-governor being General Gustavus A. Scroggs, of Buffalo. The Whigs, however, maintained their organization till the fall election, and carried the State. In this county, Mr. Haven, who had voted against the Nebraska bill, was elected member of Congress, and James D. Warren, of Clarence, county treasurer. The assemblymen chosen were William W. Weed and Daniel Devening of Buffalo, Lorenzo D. Covey of Newstead, and Seth W. Goddard of Concord.

In that year the old Recorder's Court, of Buffalo, was reorganized as the Superior Court, with three judges, holding six years each. The recorder, Geo. W. Houghton, was continued as one of the Superior Court judges till the expiration of his term, two years later. The two judges elected in 1854 were George W. Clinton and Isaac A. Verplanck. When Judge Houghton's term expired, Hon. Joseph G. Masten was chosen in his place, and then the court was maintained by successive reëlections as thus constituted until within a few years past.

In 1855 the Republican party was organized, and received into its ranks a large proportion of the voters of Erie county, but not a majority, nor even a plurality. Three tickets were nominated. For the first time in over a quarter of a century, the Democrats carried the county, at a regular election, electing James Wadsworth, of Buffalo, State senator; Orrin Lockwood, of Boston, sheriff; Peter M Vosburgh, of Buffalo, county clerk; and Abram Thorn, of Hamburg, surrogate. Mr. Devening was reëlected to the assembly, his associates being John G. Desh'er of Buffalo, John Clark of Hamburg, and Benjamin Maltby of Colden.

The next year came the exciting triangular contest between the Democrats, Republicans and Americans, the three parties being more nearly equal in strength in Erie county than in almost any other in the Union. In February, the National American convention nominated Millard Fillmore for the presidency, with A. J. Donelson, of Tennessee, as the vice-presidential candidate. But that party, after a few spasmodic successes, was already on the wane. In some parts of the country it had almost entirely disappeared. Probably Mr. Fillmore's candidacy helped to keep it alive in this county, and caused the comparative equality, just mentioned, between the three parties. Notwithstanding, however, all local pride as to the candidate, and notwithstanding the eloquence of Solomon G. Haven, who again acted as Mr. Fillmore's lieutenant, and was for the fourth time a candidate for Congress, the American party was third in the race, even in Erie county.

The Democrats carried the county, as well as the nation, electing Israel T. Hatch member of Congress, and James M. Humphrey district-attorney. Judge Sheldon, however, was reëlected

by the Republicans. Rufus Wheeler, of Buffalo, was chosen presidential elector, the State being carried by the Republicans. The assemblymen elected that fall were Augustus J. Tiffany and George De Witt Clinton of Buffalo, Horace Boies of Hamburg, and S. Cary Adams of Collins.

This was the last appearance of our Erie county President in the political field. The remainder of his life was passed in quiet and dignified retirement, mostly at his residence in Buffalo. I have mentioned several relatives of Mr. Fillmore, all men of grand physical proportions and more than ordinary mental vigor, and all of some local prominence. His father, Nathaniel Fillmore, whom I well remember, living in a low, red house on his farm, a mile south of Aurora village, was, I think, the finest and most venerable looking old man that I ever saw. Some time after his son ceased to be President, the "Old Squire," (as he was commonly called from having been a justice of the peace at some time of his life,) sold his farm and came to live in the village. He was then nearly eighty, tall, large-framed, but not fleshy, nearly erect, with large, intellectual and benevolent features, crowned with perfectly white hair, and, as he walked the streets of the little village, always neatly attired, the old farmer was the impersonation of venerable dignity. His distinguished son was an eminently fine-looking man, but was not the equal in that respect of the "Old Squire."

The President's uncle, Calvin Fillmore, less dignified than his brother Nathaniel, was noted among his townsmen for his genial ways and quaint sayings. Having been a colonel of militia, (as well as a mill-owner, tavern-keeper, and member of assembly,) he was in his later years dubbed "the Old Colonel," by his acquaintances. He was a great admirer of Shakespeare, and might frequently be heard in some village resort, quoting passages from his favorite bard, an acquaintance with whom was not, as may be imagined, a common accomplishment among frontier settlers. After he became quite aged he leased his house—a large, old-fashioned, red, frame building, between the two villages of Aurora—to Mr. David Johnson, with whom he boarded. Mr. J. was a shoemaker by trade, but, being himself quite old, did only such work as he could perform at his residence.

J. H. Shearer, of Aurora, relates a curious incident which he ob-

served at the house just mentioned, one winter afternoon, about 1858 or 1859. Mr. Johnson had located his shoe-bench and its accessories in one of the most comfortable rooms in the house, and there the old colonel was accustomed to sit, and chat, and tell stories, and quote Shakespeare, to such of his neighbors as might happen in.

On the occasion in question Mr. Shearer, on entering the room, found Mr. Johnson on his bench, pegging away at a dilapidated sole, the old colonel near by with a look of eager interest on his face, two or three other elderly gentlemen of the neighborhood in listening attitudes, while in the midst of them sat Hon. Millard Fillmore, reading Shakespeare under the direction of his venerable relative.

Mr. S. quietly took a seat and the reading proceeded, the deep voice of the ex-President being but slightly interrupted by the noise of Mr. Johnson's shoe-hammer. One selection being concluded, the colonel would say:

"Now, Millard, read that passage about—" referring to some favorite portion of "Macbeth," or "Julius Cæsar," or "Coriolanus," as the case might be—and "Millard" would accordingly turn to the designated place, and again deliver the lofty thoughts of Avon's bard in sonorous tones, with a subdued accompaniment of pegging-hammer. Then another and another passage would be pointed out, and thus for an hour or more the entertainment proceeded, apparently to the great interest of the little audience, and certainly to the intense delectation of the old colonel.

It was a peculiar scene, and one oddly illustrative of several phases of American life.

In 1857 the assemblymen elected were Albert P. Laning and Andrew J. McNett of Buffalo, John T. Wheelock of Lancaster, and Amos Avery of Evans. At the same time Lyman B. Smith, of Buffalo, was chosen county treasurer, and James Wadsworth was reëlected State senator. Both were Democrats.

By 1858 the American party had become so feeble that it was clearly seen that its continued existence could be of no practical use. In this county it dissolved, some of its members joining the Republicans, some the Democrats, and some endeavoring to stand aloof from the constantly deepening strife. A combi-

nation was formed between the Republicans and a portion of the Americans, by which Elbridge G. Spaulding was elected member of Congress, Gen. G. A. Scroggs sheriff, and O. J. Greene, of Sardinia, county-clerk. The assemblymen elected were Daniel Bowen and Henry B. Miller of Buffalo, John S. King of Amherst, and Wilson Rogers of North Collins.

The next year the line was pretty closely drawn between Republicans and Democrats, the former carrying the county and electing Erastus S. Prosser State senator, Freeman J. Fithian district-attorney, and Charles C. Severance, of Concord, surrogate. The following gentlemen were the successful candidates for the assembly: Orlando Allen and Henry B. Miller of Buffalo, Hiram Newell of Tonawanda, and Joseph H. Plumb of Collins. This brings us to the eve of the great political struggle of 1860. Before narrating that, however, I will turn back and devote a few pages to other matters.

The tide of prosperity, which in the middle of this decade had been growing and swelling for ten or twelve years, maintained its onward course until the autumn of 1857. The commerce of the West continued to roll through Buffalo, leaving golden deposits as it passed. The county had a ready market for its produce, and the numerous plank-roads teemed with wagons in summer and sleighs in winter, laden with hay, grain, potatoes, and other products of the farm. Similar prosperity was seen throughout the country, though it was more marked here, in consequence of the nearness of a great commercial city. But, as has so often been the case, prosperity brought recklessness and over-trading. The banks inflated the currency beyond what was necessary for business purposes, and again, as in 1837, inflation was followed by disaster. The crisis came in the fall of 1857.

It was not, however, by any means as injurious in its results in this section as that of 1837, both because the preceding speculation and inflation had been less reckless, and because the people were far better prepared to meet it. Their farms were paid for, and their houses were seldom covered with second and third mortgages, as in the time of the great wreck of 1837. There was a good reserve of crops on hand, of valuable improvements, and of other actual property, to resist the shock of financial disaster. In some parts of the Far West, where there was no such

reserve, the hard times which followed the panic of 1857 bore a strong resemblance to those consequent on the disaster of 1837, in the East.

Still, compared with previous prosperity, the times were "hard" throughout 1858 and '59, and had only just begun to be ameliorated when the alarum of war gave notice of still severer troubles.

On the 4th of December, 1857, a new town was formed from that part of the Buffalo Creek reservation within the limits of Aurora and Lancaster. As in the case of Marilla, it included the mile-strip on the south side, but left the mile-and-a-half-strip, on the north side, in Lancaster. It received the name of Elma, in commemoration of a grand old elm, near the village of that name. Some cynic, who thought the names of Marilla and Elma rather "soft," said that the next new town had better be called "Miss Nancy." To me, however, "Elma" sounds like a very appropriate and euphonious appellation. At all events there has been as yet no opportunity to put the suggestion in practice, for no town has been formed since that time, and Elma is still the municipal baby of the county.

The managers of the Ebenezer Society found that the proximity of a growing city interfered seriously with their control over the younger members of the fraternity. There was altogether too much communication with the unregenerate Yankees, for what they considered the spiritual health of those under their charge. Besides, they wanted more land for cultivation and pasturage. Accordingly, after due invocation of the great spirit of wisdom, they sent agents in 1856 to the West, who selected a new home in Iowa. The managers approved their choice, and the rest had naught to do but obey. A large tract of wild land having been secured, the leaders applied to Hon. George R. Babcock to sell their real estate in West Seneca. Some of the circumstances attending the subsequent transactions well illustrate the business principles of these men. Mr. B. agreed to sell their land, on condition that they should divide it into suitable tracts, and fix the price and terms on each tract, from which he should make no deviation; though they might revise the whole whenever they saw fit. To this they readily assented, appointed appraisers who determined the value of each

piece of land, and these prices were marked on a map hung in Mr. B.'s office.

In 1857 he began selling. After he had disposed of about a hundred thousand dollars worth, the financial crisis just described came upon the country. Sales suddenly stopped. After waiting several months for better times, which did not come, Mr. Babcock notified his principals that they would either have to postpone selling or lower their prices. They decided on the latter course. They accordingly caused a new appraisal to be made, re-marked their map at an average reduction of about twenty per cent., and again brought it to Mr. Babcock. That gentleman promised to press the sales as rapidly as possible, but said :

"I suppose some of those who have bought heretofore will feel somewhat dissatisfied at having to pay a larger price than those who purchase hereafter."

"We have considered that matter," replied the men of Ebenezer, "and have determined to lower the price for those who have already bought, in the same proportion as the others."

"Indeed," said Mr. B., "and how about those who have paid for their land in cash ?"

"The same reduction must be made," replied the Germans, "and the surplus must be refunded to them in money."

And these remarkable ideas were actually carried out. The payments of those who had previously bought were reduced as much as those of subsequent purchasers, and to those who had paid in cash an equal percentage was refunded. This was really going further than the strictest honesty required, and might fairly have been called quixotic conduct, yet it forms a not unpleasant contrast to the ordinary run of business transactions.

As soon as the selling was well under way, the managers began transferring their people to Iowa. There was none of the confusion usually attendant on the migration of large numbers. None were removed until there was a place for them at their new home, and work ready for them to engage in. As the sales went forward, the people were transferred, but it was not until 1863 or '64 that the work was entirely completed, and the colonists all settled in their western home. Their lands in West Seneca were almost all purchased by Germans, but in separate tracts,

for the use of individuals. Yet, as the houses were already built in villages, and as the farmers who bought the land could buy those houses cheaper than they could build, the locality in question is, to some extent, a reproduction of a German district, where the peasants live in a hamlet and cultivate the land outside.

The supervisors of the various towns and wards, from the reorganization of Buffalo to the close of the decade, were as follows:

Alden, 1854, John B. Pride; 1855, Lester Gary; 1856 and '60, Herbert Dayton; 1857, Nathan Willis; 1858 and '59, Festus Tenny. Amherst, 1854 and '56, Peter Grove; 1855, Samuel L. Bestow; 1857 and '58, Miranda Root; 1859 and '60, Charles C. Grove. Aurora, 1854 and '55, George W. Bennett; 1856, Hiram Harris; 1857 and '58, Edward Paine; 1859 and '60, William N. Bennett. Boston, 1854, John Churchill; 1855, Palmer Skinner; 1856, '57, '58 and '59, Martin Keller; 1860, George Brinley. Brant, 1854, '56, '58 and '59, Nathaniel Smith; 1855, Jonathan Hascall; 1857, David Gail; 1860, Thomas Judson.

Buffalo, First ward, 1854, Patrick Milton; 1855, '56, '57 and '58, Thomas Edmonds; 1859, Michael Collins; 1860, John O'Donnell. Second ward, 1854, Charles E. Young; 1855, Nelson K. Hopkins; 1856, Orlando Allen; 1857, '58, '59 and '60, William C. White. Third ward, 1854, N. H. Gardner; 1855, '56 and '59, Zadoc G. Allen; 1857, John M. Daniel; 1858, William M. Scott; 1860, Whitney A. Case. Fourth ward, 1854 and '55, O. Vaughn; 1856, S. Bettinger; 1857, Harry Slade; 1858, Nicholas Ottenot; 1859, George P. Stevenson; 1860, Richard Flach. Fifth ward, 1854, A. Webster; 1855 and '56, Sebastian Diebold; 1857 and '58, George Zillig; 1859 and '60, Andrew Gross. Sixth ward, 1854, John Schwartz; 1855, Peter Rechtenwalt; 1856, '57, '58 and '60, John Davis; 1859, John Stengel. Seventh ward, 1854 and '56, Samuel Hecox; 1855 and '59, Anthony Kraft; 1857 and '58, Volney Randall; 1860, George Reichert. Eighth ward, 1854, David Page; 1855 and '56, Thomas O'Dwyer; 1857, James Duffy; 1858, John P. O'Brien; 1859, William Ashman; 1860, John H. Notter. Ninth ward, 1854, '55, '56, '58 and '59, George L. Marvin; 1857, Nelson Randall; 1858, Fayette Rumsey. Tenth ward, 1854, '55, '56, '57 and '59, Wells Brooks; 1858, O. G. Steele; 1860, Joseph Candee. Eleventh ward, 1854, '55, '58 and '59, Harry Thompson; 1856 and 57, James Patterson; 1860, Thomas Stocking. Twelfth ward, 1854, Samuel Ely; 1855, Harmon H. Griffin; 1856 and '57, G. W. Hall; 1858, Charles Manly; 1859, Job Gorton; 1860, Elisha Safford. Thirteenth ward, 1854, Horace A. Buffum; 1855 and '56, Job Taylor; 1857, George Moore; 1858, John Kelly; 1859, William B. Hart; 1860, Aaron Martin.

Cheektowaga, 1854, Marvin Seamans; 1855, Gardner J. Kip; 1856 and '57, Frederick Loosen; 1858, '59 and '60, Eldridge Farwell. Clar-

ence, 1854, James D. Warren; 1855, Thomas Durboraw; 1856, '57, '58 and '59, Henry S. Cunningham; 1860, David Woodward. Colden, 1854, O. P. Buffum; 1855, '57 and '58, Benjamin Maltby; 1856, A. G. Buffum; 1859, Moses Calkins; 1860, Nathan C. Francis. Collins, 1854 and '55, J. H. McMillan; 1856, Benjamin W. Sherman; 1857 and '58, Joseph H. Plumb; 1859 and '60, Anson G. Conger. Concord, 1854, '58, '59 and '60, Seth W. Goddard; 1855, Lucius B. Towsley; 1856, ——; 1857, Morris Fosdick. East Hamburg, 1854, L. B. Littlefield; 1855 and '56, John T. Fish; 1857 and '58, L. M. Bullis; 1859, Ivory H. Hawkins; 1860, James H. Deuel. Eden, 1854, Pardon Tefft; 1855, Homer J. Redfield; 1856, '57 and '58, Nelson Welch; 1859, Lyman Pratt; 1860, Azel Austin. Elma, 1857 and '58, Paul B. Lathrop; 1859, ——; 1860, Zina A. Hemstreet. Evans, 1854 and '55, Peter Barker; 1856 and '59, Myron D. Winslow; 1857 and 58, Ira Ayer; 1860, James Ayer. Grand Island, 1854 and '60, John Nice; 1855, '56 and '59, David Morgan; 1857 and '58, Asa Ransom. Hamburg, 1854, Ira Barnard, Jr.; 1855 and 56, G. N. Barnard; 1857 and '58, Maurice Osborn; 1859, J. S. Parkhill; 1860, Hoel White. Holland, 1854, Abner Orr; 1855 and '60, Philip D. Riley; 1856 and '58, O. G. Rowley; 1857, Ezra Farrington; 1859, John A. Case. Lancaster, 1854, J. Parker; 1855, Eli H. Bowman; 1856, Henry L. Bingham; 1857, '58, 59 and '60, Robert Looney. Marilla, 1855, S. P. Taber; 1856, Niles Carpenter; 1857, Peter Ostrander; 1858, S. Franklin; 1859, J. Stedman; 1860, Harrison T. Foster. Newstead, 1854, H. S. Hawkins; 1855, B. K. Adams; 1856, L. D. Covey; 1857 and '58, E. J. Newman; 1859 and '60, Ezra P. Goslin. North Collins, 1854 and '55, E. W. Godfrey; 1856 and '57, Lyman Clark; 1858, '59, and '60, Charles Kirby. Sardinia, 1854, B. H. Colegrove; 1855, Seymour P. Hastings; 1856, Mitchell R. Loveland; 1857 and '58, James Hopkins; 1859 and '60, George Bigelow. Tonawanda, 1854, Theron W. Woolson; 1855 and '56, Warren Moulton; 1857 and '58, Paul Roberts; 1859, Christopher Schwinger; 1860, Emanuel Hensler. Wales, 1854, D. S. Warner; 1855 and '56, Harry A. Stevens; 1857, Comfort Parsons; 1858 and '59, Jared Tiffany; 1860, John McBeth. West Seneca, 1854 and '55, Erasmus Briggs; 1856, Levi Ballou; 1857 and '58, Aaron P. Pierce; 1859 and '60, J. C. Langner.

The census of 1860 showed a population of 141,971 in Erie county, of which 81,129 were in the city of Buffalo. It will be seen that there were then a trifle over 60,000, outside the city. In 1850 there were 51,224 in the country towns, aside from Black Rock, which had since been absorbed in Buffalo. The rate of increase in the city, (including Black Rock,) was sixty-three per cent.; that of the country, sixteen.

In 1860 came the great Presidential contest, the most important since the formation of the government. Of the four presidential tickets in the field, that headed by Mr. Breckenridge re-

ceived almost no votes in Erie county, and that by Mr. Bell very few. The vote of the county was substantially divided between Lincoln and Douglas, the former having a majority. Mr. Spaulding was reëlected to Congress, James Sheldon was for the third time chosen county judge, and Norman B. McNeal was elected county treasurer. The successful candidates for the assembly were S. V. R. Watson and Victor M. Rice of Buffalo, Benjamin H. Long of Tonawanda, and Zebulon Ferris of East Hamburg. Hon. James G. Hoyt, having removed to Buffalo, was again elected a judge of the Supreme Court. The presidential elector from Erie county was John Greiner, Jr., of Buffalo. James O. Putnam was one of the electors at large, William C. Bryant, of New York city, being his associate.

Scarcely had the rejoicings of the triumphant party ceased, ere there came from the South murmurs of discontent and anger. How they swelled and increased through all that fateful winter, how State after State fell away from its allegiance, how the whole South resounded with preparations for war, need not be recounted here. It is a part of the nation's history. Here, as elsewhere throughout the North, men looked on in amazement, hoping even to the last for peace, deeming it impossible that the lunacy of secession could ever ripen into the open madness of armed rebellion. Few made any preparation for the event, yet nearly all were in that angry and excited condition which needs but a word to develop into the most determined action.

CHAPTER XL.

1861.

The Outburst.—Bombardment of Sumter.—The First War-meeting.—The First Volunteer Company.—The Militia Regiments.—First Troops Sent Forth.—A Difficult Task.—A Disgusted Soldier.—Organization of the First Erie County Regiment.—The Twenty-first during the Year.—Formation of the Forty-ninth Regiment.—Its Departure, Organization, etc.—The One Hundredth Regiment.—The Springville Company.—County Officers, Supervisors, etc.—The Erie County Member of Congress.—Origin of the Greenbacks.

On the 15th of April the spark came. The Buffalo morning papers contained the news of the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter. Everywhere men were seen scanning the fateful lines with eager gaze, and denouncing to each other the inexcusable treason. All business was at a stand-still, save at the printing offices, which every hour sent out new editions containing the latest details, which were instantly purchased by the excited crowd.

Soon there appeared a call for a meeting at the old court-house, at 7½ o'clock that evening, to organize a body of "minute men" for immediate service. Early in the evening great numbers came hurrying toward the venerable temple of justice. The court-room was soon filled, and Eli Cook was elected chairman of the meeting. In an eloquent speech he declared that the time for discussion had passed, and that all must now work together to save their imperiled country. But the people came surging in, in such numbers that it was found necessary to adjourn to Kremlin Hall, and still again to the street, in front of the American hotel. After fiery speeches had been made by prominent men, it was announced that a roll was at the old court-house, ready for the signatures of volunteers. Away rushed the crowd, and so great was the press that it was with difficulty men could get to the table to sign. A hundred and two names were taken that evening.

On the succeeding days there were similar scenes of excitement, meetings of citizens, and enrolling of volunteers. On the

18th, General Scroggs called a meeting of those who had enrolled their names. A portion of them were then organized into the first volunteer company of Erie county. They elected William H. Drew as captain, R. P. Gardner as first lieutenant, and E. R. P. Shurley as second lieutenant.

Meanwhile the news flew into every village, and hamlet, and farm house, in the county, and everywhere awakened the same feelings of indignation and patriotism. Owing, however, to the predominant influence in the affairs of Erie county, naturally obtained by the great city within its borders, separate action was not at first generally taken by the towns in organizing volunteers, but their young men began hurrying toward Buffalo to enroll themselves as soldiers of the Union.

The militia regiments also began to prepare for whatever exigencies might arise. In response to an inquiry of the governor, Col. Chauncey Abbott, of the 67th, reported two hundred and fifty men ready for duty. The 74th and 65th regiments established recruiting offices in the city. The people subscribed thirty thousand dollars to provide for volunteers and their families, and the common council appropriated fifty thousand more.

Nearly a hundred prominent, elderly citizens enrolled themselves as a company of "Union Continentals." The old continental uniform was adopted, and ex-President Fillmore was chosen captain.

On the 3d of May four companies had been organized, which then left for Elmira. Nearly all Buffalo turned out to see them off. The Union Continentals acted as escort. These were mostly tall, hale old men, and made a remarkably fine appearance as they marched down the street, with the stately form of the ex-President at their head. At Niagara Square an immense assemblage greeted the departing warriors, and a flag was presented to them by Miss Juna Paddock, on behalf of the Central School. Gen. Scroggs responded, and thirty-four young ladies sang the "Star Spangled Banner."

Then the drums rattled, the newly made soldiers with their venerable escort marched to the depot, the former embarked on the cars, ten thousand farewells were spoken, and amid cheers, and tears, and blessings unnumbered, the first body of Erie county volunteers left their homes, to defend the nation's life.

I will endeavor in the next few chapters to give a sketch of their course, and of that of their thousands of gallant followers, in the terrible struggle on which they were entering. Yet I must confess that this is the most difficult part of my task. One would think that it would be comparatively easy to describe events of such recent occurrence. It rather seems, however, as if a certain amount of distance was necessary (the same as in looking at a picture) to give clearness to the view. Had I shared the experience of the Erie county soldiers in their Virginia and Carolina campaigns, memory might have aided the description. But, though a native and most of my life a resident of that county, my service throughout the war was in the ranks of a Kansas regiment, in the southwestern army. So I can only hope that some general knowledge, thus gained, of the ways of war, may tend to give a little vivacity to the tale.

But it is extremely difficult to make a brief yet entertaining story out of the exploits of single and widely-separated regiments, surrounded by the mighty throng of their comrades, who went forth to battle for the Republic. It would be impossible to give even a sketch of the operations of our grand armies, without occupying ten times too much space, and yet without some such sketch, a condensed report of the operations of a regiment here and there will necessarily have a somewhat dry appearance. The account of the Erie county regiments is almost entirely derived from the histories of them heretofore published, respectively, by Mr. Mills of the Twenty-first, by Major Stowits of the One Hundredth, and by Captain Clark of the One Hundred and Sixteenth. Other sources of information have been utilized as far as practicable, but, after doing my best, I feel that I have only given an idea of the achievements of our Erie county soldiers. I do not pretend to have done them justice.

While the first volunteers were organizing and setting forth, the 74th militia regiment was in a state of inglorious uncertainty. At first its members expected to be sent to the field as a regiment, for a short term, and were eager for the fray. Then there were days of doubt. Then came an order to march, and the enthusiasm rose to fever heat. Everywhere the men of the 74th were joyously preparing for immediate departure, and their

female friends were busily aiding their preparations. Suddenly the order was positively revoked. No militia regiments were wanted. The men of the 74th went sadly to their homes, or angrily about the streets. An amusing anecdote is told of George M. Love, afterwards General Love, then a private in Co. D, of the Seventy-fourth. Hearing of the order of revocal, he rushed home, flung himself into a chair and burst into tears.

"What is it?" "What's the matter?" exclaimed his alarmed sisters.

"We ain't going; we ain't going," was the only reply.

That there was but little "buncombe" about the manifestations of the 74th is shown by the subsequent facts. Immediate steps were taken to enter new organizations for a long term. Company F, numbering eighty-five men, under Captain George De Witt Clinton, at once volunteered, to a man. Five more companies of the 74th were speedily transformed into volunteers. On the 11th of May, the six new companies left to join the other four. Similar manifestations of regard attended their departure, and Eagle hose company escorted them to Elmira.

Immediately after their arrival, the ten companies were organized into a regiment. The line officers had been elected by the men, and the former in turn chose the field and staff. In those early times, the officers thus selected were commissioned without hesitation by the governor. The colonel and major had been the captains, respectively, of companies C and A.

The following is a list of the officers:

Colonel, William F. Rogers; lieutenant-colonel, Adrian R. Root; major, William H. Drew; adjutant, C. W. Sternberg; surgeon, H. P. Clinton; assistant surgeon, J. A. Peters; chaplain, John E. Robie. Co. A, captain, Robert P. Gardner; lieutenants, Levi Vallier and Charles S. McBean. Co. B, captain, Henry M. Gaylord; lieutenants, Algar M. Wheeler and James J. McLeish. Co. C, captain, J. P. Washburn; lieutenants, Allen M. Adams and John H. Canfield. Co. D, captain, William C. Alberger; lieutenants, George M. Baker and William F. Wheeler. Co. E, captain, James C. Strong; lieutenants, Charles E. Efner and Thomas Sloan. Co. F, captain, George De Witt Clinton; lieutenants, Thomas B. Wright and Charles B. Darrow. Co. G, captain, Edward L. Lee; lieutenants, Daniel Meyers, Jr., and J. E. Bergtold. Co. H, captain, Elisha L. Hayward; lieutenants, Samuel Wilkeson and Hugh Johnson. Co. I, captain, Horace G. Thomas; lieutenants, Abbott C. Calkins and William O. Brown, Jr. Co. K, captain, John M. Layton; lieutenants, Augustus N. Gillett and John Nicholson.

The regiment then numbered 791, all told, and probably every man was from Erie county. After organizing, they were mustered into the United States service for two years. They had enlisted for that time, but some of them had since imbibed the idea that they were to serve for only three months. Consequently there was some dissatisfaction, which showed itself more strongly at a later date.

The regiment remained at Elmira till the 18th of June, when it was sent to Washington. In July it was stationed at Fort Runyon, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and was there when the battle of Bull Run gave the Union soldiers their first taste of real war.

When three months from the time of enlistment had expired, a portion of the men, for whom war had lost its romance, were unwilling to continue in the service. When it came to the test, however, only forty-one refused to do duty. These were arrested, permanently separated from the regiment, and sent to Fortress Monroe. Some time later they unanimously consented to return to duty, but were assigned to another regiment.

The last of August, the 21st was assigned to Wadsworth's brigade, McDowell's division, and during the rest of the year continued in the vicinity of Washington, preparing under the eyes of McClellan for the hour of deadly strife. Eighty-four men died or were discharged before the end of the year, and sixty-four recruits took their places.

Several changes took place among the officers. Capt. Alberger and Lt. Wheeler were transferred to the 49th New York. Lts. Gillett and McBean resigned. Lt. Baker was made captain of Co. C, Sergeant James S. Mulligan 2d lieutenant of Co. K, Sergeant George L. Remington 2d lieutenant of Co. C, (vice Canfield transferred,) and Sergeants Byron Schermerhorn and Henry C. Beebee, lieutenants of Co. D. Sergeant-major George M. Love was transferred to another regiment as 1st lieutenant.

Meanwhile Erie county was sending forth other gallant bands to maintain the honor and preserve the existence of their country. In the month of July Daniel D. Bidwell, long known as the commander of Buffalo's pet militia corps, Co. "D," obtained authority to raise another regiment. On the 30th of that month

he issued his first recruiting commissions. Others were soon sent out, several being furnished to citizens of Chautauqua county.

By the 16th of September, though the new regiment was not quite full, it had enough men so that it was ordered to New York. "Captain" Fillmore's continentals again acted as escort, assisted by other military organizations, and the people again assembled in crowds to bid their defenders enthusiastic adieu. Arriving at New York, some detachments were consolidated, a Westchester county company was added, the officers were commissioned, and the regiment was ready for the field, under the name of the Forty-ninth New York volunteers. Daniel D. Bidwell was colonel, and William C. Alberger lieutenant-colonel. The major was George W. Johnson, a veteran of the Mexican war, and latterly adjutant of the 74th militia. The staff consisted of Henry D. Tillinghast, quartermaster; William D. Bullymore, adjutant; James A. Hall, surgeon; William W. Potter, assistant surgeon; and Rev. John Bowman, chaplain.

Of the companies, four were from Erie county, four from Chautauqua, one from Niagara, and one from Westchester. The officers of the Erie county companies were as follows:

Co. B, captain, J. F. E. Plogsted; lieutenants, Frederick Von Gayl and William Würtz. Co. D, captain, William F. Wheeler; lieutenants, George H. Selkirk and Peter A. Taylor. Co. E, captain, Reuben B. Heacock (son of the pioneer merchant); lieutenants, George W. Gilman and William Ellis. Co. F, captain, Erasmus W. Haines; lieutenants, Charles H. Bidwell and Charles H. Hickmott.

The last of September, the 49th went into camp near Lewinsville, Virginia, where they remained till the next spring, engaged in making the usual preparations for the time of trial.

In August, 1861, steps were taken to raise still another Erie county regiment. On the 19th of that month, Gen. Scroggs received authority to enlist four regiments. Of these he intended that one should have its recruiting headquarters at Buffalo, and the others in the eastern part of the State. The general named them the "Eagle Brigade," but they were never actually brigaded together.

On the second of September General Scroggs issued the first recruiting-order to Capt. Moore, of Genesee county. During that month and the next he issued nine more recruiting-orders, all to residents of Buffalo, except one to Capt. Payne, of North

Tonawanda, and one to Capt. Nash, of Springville The authority was given to the latter (and several others) on the 18th of September. The captain was a young law-student of Springville, only twenty-two years of age, but stalwart of form and prompt in action. That pleasant little rural village, and the towns of Concord and Sardinia, sprang energetically to the work of filling up this company of their own, and on the 25th of September, just a week after Captain Nash received his authority, his company, with full ranks, attended by the cheers of men and tears of women, marched out of Springville for Buffalo. It was the first company filled up in the new regiment, and its young commander was, therefore, the ranking captain. It was, also, the first of the few Erie county companies entirely enlisted outside of the city, and the ease with which it was raised tends to show that good effects would have resulted, if more recruiting-orders had been issued to men in the country towns.

James M. Brown, a Scotchman by birth, a lawyer of Jamestown, who had served through the Mexican war, and had raised the first company enlisted in Chautauqua county, was selected by General Scroggs as colonel of the new command. Phineas Staunton, then an artist of New York city, but originally from Genesee county, and a son of the gallant soldier whose services in the war of 1812 will be remembered by my readers, was selected as lieutenant-colonel, and Calvin N. Otis, an architect of Buffalo, as major. The regiment, however, was not filled up and its officers mustered into service, till the next year.

One of the most famous of Erie county organizations was "Wiedrich's Battery." It was formed in August, 1861, as Battery I, of the First New York artillery, but acted as a separate organization during the greater part of the war. It had a hundred and forty men and the following officers: Captain, Michael Wiedrich; first lieutenants, Nicholas Sahm and Diedrich Erdmann; second lieutenants, Christopher Schmidt and Jacob Schenkelberger. It was composed entirely of Germans, and, on many a hard fought field, well maintained the reputation for stubborn courage of men of that nationality. The battery left Buffalo for the front on the 16th of October. Arriving in Virginia, it was attached to Blenker's division, but remained mostly in camp during the winter of 1861–2.

Besides these commands, there were several separate companies raised in Erie county, for regiments whose headquarters were elsewhere. Among these was Co. A, of the 44th New York volunteers, commonly called the "Ellsworth" regiment. Edward P. Chapin, a young lawyer of Buffalo, was captain, George M. Love first lieutenant, and Benjamin Kimberly second lieutenant. Its members were scattered through the county, and I have no special record regarding it.

Co. A, of the 64th New York volunteers, was almost entirely raised in Collins, Erie county, and Persia, Cattaraugus county, the major portion coming from the former town. Rufus P. Washburn was captain, and Albert Darby and James M. Pettit lieutenants. Four companies of the Tenth New York cavalry were also partially recruited in Erie county. Their captains were Norris Morey, Albert H. Jarvis, John Ordner, and Wilkinson W. Paige. Among the multifarious calls upon my time, I have been able to learn little regarding those companies that were attached to outside regiments. All that I know of the Tenth cavalry is that it fought in the army of the East, and at one time suffered severely. I am informed that there is more than one family in the south towns which has lost three members in the Tenth New York cavalry. Co. M, of the Eleventh cavalry, was also raised in Erie county. It went to the front under Captain John Norris, (who was discharged for wounds,) and was mustered out under Lieutenant Thomas Mitchell.

There was but little talked of, or thought of, during that first war-summer, save the news from the front and the raising of troops to go there. As the fall election approached, the issue was distinct between the Republican and Democratic parties.

Notwithstanding that the Republicans swept the State by over a hundred thousand majority, and although they had carried the county the two previous years, yet this time the Democrats were at least partially successful. John Ganson was elected State senator, Robert H. Best sheriff, and Charles R. Durkee, of Alden, county clerk. The assemblymen chosen at the same time were John W. Murphy and Horatio Seymour of Buffalo, Ezra P. Goslin of Newstead, and John A. Case of Holland. The following is a list of the supervisors:

Amherst, Charles C. Grove; Aurora, Seth Fenner; Alden, Andrew

P. Vandervoort; Boston, George Brinley; Brant, Thomas Judson. Buffalo, 1st ward, John O'Donnell; 2d ward, J. K. Tyler; 3d ward, Joshua Barnes; 4th ward, ——; 5th ward, Orrin Lockwood; 6th ward, Joseph Davis; 7th ward, George Reichert; 8th ward, James Ryan; 9th ward, Albert Sawin; 10th ward, Joseph Candee; 11th ward, Thos. R. Stocking; 12th ward, Jacob Reichert; 13th ward, Aaron Martin. Cheektowaga, Eldridge Farwell; Clarence, David Woodward; Colden, Nathan C. Francis; Collins, Elisha W. Henry; Concord, S. W. Goddard; East Hamburg, Ivory H. Hawkins; Eden, Lyman Pratt; Elma, Zina A. Hemstreet; Evans, James Ayer; Grand Island, Ossian Bedell; Hamburg, Hoel White; Holland, Nathan Morey; Lancaster, ——; Newstead, Ezra P. Goslin; Marilla, Harrison T. Foster; North Collins, Wilson Rogers; Sardinia, James Rider; Tonawanda, Emanuel Hensler; Wales, John McBeth; West Seneca, J. C. Langner.

On the assembling of Congress in December, the member from Erie county, Mr. Elbridge G. Spaulding, was placed on the most important committee of the house, that of ways and means, of which Thaddeus Stevens was chairman. That committee soon constituted two sub-committees from among its members, to one of which all subjects were referred relating to the making of loans, the issuing of treasury-notes and the creation of a currency. Of the latter Mr. Spaulding was chairman.

The secretary of the treasury had, in his report, opposed the issuing of treasury-notes, and had recommended that the entire money of the country, aside from coin, should be furnished by national banks. At the request of the secretary, Mr. Spaulding drew up a bill embodying these views, but, while doing so, became convinced that such a currency could not be made available quick enough to meet the enormous and pressing demand for money. He therefore drafted a legal-tender, treasury-note section, which the urgency of the case soon caused him to change into a separate bill, which he introduced into the house of representatives on his own motion, on the 30th of December, 1861. It provided that, for temporary purposes, the secretary of the treasury was authorized to issue $50,000,000 of treasury-notes, payable on demand, of denominations not less than five dollars, which should be a *legal tender* for all debts public or private, and which should be exchangeable for the bonds of the government at par. This was the germ of the vast "greenback" currency of the United States.

CHAPTER XLI.

1862.

Establishment of the Treasury-Note System.—The Twenty-first Regiment.—Its First Battle.—A Glowing Description.—Severe Loss.—South Mountain and Antietam.—The Twenty-first at Fredericksburg.—The Forty-ninth on the Peninsula.—In Battle at Antietam.—Alberger and Ellis.—Roster of the One Hundredth.—It goes to the Front.—The Regiment at Seven Pines.—"Charge, the One Hundredth."—Severe Loss.—Death of Col. Brown.—Action of the Board of Trade.—Record of the One Hundredth during the rest of the Year.—Organization of the One Hundred and Sixteenth.—Its Officers.—Wiedrich's Battery at Cross Keys.—Its Gallantry at Bull Run.—Political Matters.—A Democratic Victory.—County Officers, etc.—The Buffalo Historical Society.

I will devote a little more space to the financial system which, whatever its defects, carried the country through the war, and in the adoption of which the representative of Erie county bore so important a part. The committee of ways and means was about equally divided in regard to it, and it was severely criticised by some financiers. To such critics Mr. Spaulding had, in substance, but one reply:

"Show us a better way. We shall be out of money in a very brief period. Taxes cannot be raised in time. A national-bank act cannot be put in operation in time. What is to be done?"

Most of those who were in earnest in support of the government either favored the bill from the first, or were convinced by Mr. Spaulding's cogent statement of the case. After considerable hesitation, the secretary of the treasury gave his assent to it, and a majority of the committee of ways and means reported it to the house. There it was strongly opposed, not only by leading Democrats but by a few Republicans. While it was under discussion, Secretary Chase became urgent in its favor, as he found he had no other means to carry on the government. The amount of currency provided for was changed to $150,000,000, and a section was added providing for $500,000,000 of United States bonds, in which these legal-tender notes should be fundable.

In this shape the bill was passed by the house. The senate amended it so as to provide for the payment of the interest on the bonds in coin, which occasioned another hot debate in the house. Mr. Spaulding and other leaders believed that the coin could not be obtained without a ruinous sacrifice. Finally, the expedient was hit on of providing for the payment of the interest in coin, by making the duties on imports also payable in coin. In this form (for the other changes were of minor importance) the bill was passed by both houses, and on the 25th of February, 1862, was approved by the President. The bank act was not passed until a year later, and by that time the "greenbacks" authorized by Mr. Spaulding's bill had become the principal currency of the country, and remained so throughout the war.

The only practicable way of giving an idea of the services of the different Erie county regiments is to take them up, one after another, and follow it through the year. Accordingly, I now revert to the Twenty-first New York volunteers. When the great body of the army of the Potomac was transferred to the peninsula, in the spring of 1862, that regiment remained in McDowell's command, and did not meet the enemy till late in the season. In August it shared the fortunes of Pope's army, being then in the brigade of that strict old soldier, Gen. M. R. Patrick. Marches of fearful length and weariness are chronicled by the historian of the regiment. Several times it was in face of the enemy, and sometimes under fire, but without loss. Its first actual battle was a fearful introduction to the business of war.

In the afternoon of the 30th of August, the day after Fitz John Porter's celebrated failure to attack the enemy, Patrick's brigade was lying down in the second line of our army, while a brigade commanded by Gen. Hatch formed the line in front of it. A road, with a rail fence on each side, was before them, a field beyond that, and still farther on was a railroad embankment held by the enemy. The fight which then took place has been so vividly described by Mr. Mills, who took part and was wounded in it, that in regard to a portion of it I will quote his precise words.

As they were lying down, General Hatch galloped up and screamed out an order. Instantly Col. Rogers' ringing voice was heard: "Rise up, Twenty-first! Fix bayonets! Forward!

Double quick! March!" Bayonets clattered all along the line. Officers leaped to the front. The first lines dashed over the road and fences. The second followed. Mr. Mills continues :

"Ten steps from the fence Tom Bishop goes down with the colors. Our company is next them and there is a rush. Hurrah! Dan Sheldon has got them and his noble face is transfigured as he flings out the folds high and free. Brave Dan! a ball strikes that forehead and he falls upon the dear old flag. And now two stages, of ten steps each, cost each a man with the colors. Yet there are plenty more. Henry Spicer of Co. F is next upon the glorious list. Half down the slope and the left is wheeling round to bring our line fronting upon an old railway embankment, that literally swarms with the enemy. Our right has reached it and is hand to hand in the death struggle. The center nears it swiftly. I have almost reached the ditch when a stunning blow seems to tear me in two, and I find myself doubled up in its dry bed."

Scores of others fall at the same time. Sheltered as the enemy are, their fire is terrific, and our soldiers are unable to seize the embankment. The Twenty-first is ordered to shelter itself in a dry ditch, about two feet deep, half way between the road and the railroad. Cool as on parade, Colonel Rogers walks along the edge, encouraging the men. A fierce fire is kept up between the ditch and the embankment. Finally the enemy turns the right, where there are no supports, and the 21st is ordered to fall back. They do so slowly, gathering around the standard, of which so many bearers have been shot down.

Four hundred men went into that charge, of which fifty were killed, and one hundred and thirteen wounded so as to be sent to the hospital, besides many others slightly wounded. But a very small proportion were entirely uninjured. Capt. Washburn and Lieutenant Whiting were killed, and Lieutenant Mulligan mortally wounded. Colonel Rogers was slightly, and Major Thomas severely wounded. Captains Lee, Canfield and Wheeler, and Lieutenants Efner, Barney and Myers were also wounded.

After this, the 21st marched to Germantown and Upton Hill, and finally to Washington. Thence, under the orders of McClellan, who had been restored to the command, they moved northward to the banks of the Monocacy, and on the 14th of September the army attacked the enemy on South Mountain. Hooker's corps (late McDowell's) moved up the mountain, with

the 21st and 35th New York in front, as skirmishers. On their way the skirmish line was met by an old lady, who came rushing down the hill, frightened from home by these unwonted proceedings.

"Where be you going?" she cried to the advancing soldiers.

"Only up on the hill," replied some of the men.

"Don't you go there; don't go," she exclaimed eagerly, waving them back with her hands; "there's hundreds of Southern people up there; some of you will get hurt if you go."

Disregarding with a laugh this well-meant warning, the line moved on. They soon came across "hundreds of them"—in fact thousands of them—and the battle of South Mountain was begun. The Twenty-first fought in skirmish line, and obtained a sheltered position, whence the enemy attempted to dislodge them. But experience has proven, a hundred times over, the immense advantage of a good defensive position. This time it was the Twenty-first, instead of the foe, that had that advantage, and its loss was consequently small; only four men wounded, one mortally. The enemy suffered severely, some of their men falling within ten paces of the line of the Twenty-first. The rest of the Union forces were equally successful, and South Mountain was firmly held in their grasp.

On the morning of the 16th, the army advanced to the banks of the Antietam. The Twenty-first was soon in the thick of the fight. On one occasion they charged with fixed bayonets, and drove the enemy from two fences where they had ensconced themselves. General Patrick ordered them back, as they had got too far in advance of the brigade. The enemy thought they were retreating, and charged after them, but were again driven back with severe loss. The next day the foe retired, leaving the Union forces in possession of the whole field.

At Antietam the Twenty-first lost seventeen men killed, and fifty-three wounded. Captain Gardner and Lieutenants Vallier and Hickey were wounded. Some of the companies, being weak before, were reduced to nine or ten men each, commanded by a sergeant, and the average of privates for duty in a company was only twelve. Yet all were exultant, and desirous to advance. But slight advance was made, however, and after weeks spent in preparation McClellan was at length replaced by

Burnside, in the command of the army of the Potomac. Notwithstanding their dislike of the previous inaction, the men were angry and sullen, for McClellan, whatever the reason, unquestionably had the confidence of that army. Meanwhile General Patrick was detached as provost-marshal, and General Paul placed in command of the brigade. The irreverent soldiers declared that St. Patrick was succeeded by St. Paul.

Then the army marched to Fredericksburg. When the main body crossed the Rappahannock, on the fatal 12th of December, the Twenty-first was kept on the north side. On the 13th they were brought up to the river shore, and remained some time in an exposed position. One man was killed and three wounded. Burnside recrossed the river, and all fell back. The weather was fearfully cold. Good Parson Robie, who had cheerfully followed the fortunes of the regiment through all its service, lost heart amid the crowds of swearing soldiers, during those days of sad retreat and nights of bitter cold. His diary reveals that he suffered the greatest physical and moral discomfort, and felt that he was doing very little good. Shortly afterwards, General Patrick's old, decimated brigade was sent back to him, as provost-guard of the army of the Potomac, and began the new year in that comparatively easy service.

Besides the deaths before noted, there were some resignations and transfers among the officers, and consequent promotions. Lieutenant-colonel Root was made colonel of the 94th New York, Major Drew was promoted to lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Thomas to major. Captain Strong was made lieutenant-colonel of the 38th New York. Lieutenants Canfield and Wheeler were promoted to captains, Second Lieutenant Gail and Sergeant Minery were commissioned as first lieutenants, and Sergeant George Hurst, and John E. Remsen, James J. McLeish and John W. Davock were appointed second lieutenants.

The Forty-ninth regiment, after remaining encamped near Lewinsville through the winter of 1861–2, moved to Fortress Monroe in March of the latter year, being assigned to the Sixth corps. After participating in the siege of Yorktown, it marched with the army up the peninsula. It was at the battle of Williamsburg, and was in close support of Hancock's brigade in the decisive charge of that day. It participated in all the ardu-

ous toils of the Chickahominy campaign. It took part in the battles of Golden's Farm and Garnet's Farm, June 18th and 26th. On the 29th it made a brilliant charge, with its brigade. It was engaged in severe conflict at White Oak Swamp, and was present at the terrible defeat inflicted on the rebels at Malvern Hill. It then returned, with the rest of the army, to defend Washington.

Yet in all these services it so happened that the Forty-ninth was not required to engage in very severe combat. Not an officer was killed, and I cannot learn that the men suffered any very serious loss. This frequently happens, in the fortunes of war, regiments chancing to be kept in reserve or otherwise saved from loss for a long time, and then suddenly subjected to the fiercest storms of battle.

The Sixth corps did not reach Manassas till after the close of that conflict, and the regiment suffered no loss on that side of the Potomac. But at the battle of Antietam it was hotly engaged, and Lieutenant-colonel Alberger was severely wounded. I regret that I have not been able to obtain a detailed account of the part it took in that battle.

On account of his wound, Colonel Alberger resigned, and Major Johnson became lieutenant-colonel in his place. Captain William Ellis was promoted to major. When the rebellion broke out, Major Ellis was in the ranks of the British army. Purchasing his discharge, he entered the Forty-ninth as second lieutenant. His abilities were so decided that he was soon promoted to captain, and then to major. The regiment was present at Fredericksburg, in December, 1862, but not in any severe fighting. Adjutant Bullymore, Quartermaster Tillinghast, Capt. Moss and Lieut. Von Gayl, all died of disease during this year.

The ranks of the regiment commanded by Colonel Brown were filled up, and the regiment mustered into the national service in February, 1862, under the name of the One Hundredth New York volunteers, with the following roster of officers:

Colonel, James M. Brown; lieutenant-colonel, Phineas Staunton; major, Calvin N. Otis; adjutant, Peter Remsen Chadwick; quartermaster, Samuel M. Chamberlain; surgeon, Martin S. Kittenger; assistant-surgeon, William D. Murray. Co. A, captain, Daniel D. Nash; lieutenants, William L. Mayo and Charles Farnham. Co. B, captain, Walter B. Moore; lieutenants, M. H. Topping and Martin S. Bogart.

Co. C, captain, John Nicholson; lieutenants, U. C. Mackay and Wm. Noble. Co. D, captain, Lewis S. Payne; first lieutenant, Augustus Newell. Co. E, captain, Michael Bailey; lieutenants, William Brown and Timothy Lynch. Co. F, captain, Charles H. Rauert; lieutenants, Charles F. Gardner and C. E. Claussen. Co. G, captain, George Hinson; lieutenants, Samuel S. Kellogg and Jacob L. Barnes. Co. H, captain, P. Edwin Dye; lieutenants, R. B. Smith, Jr., and C. E. Walbridge. Co. I, captain, Chas. E. Morse; lieutenants, Frank C. Brunck and H. H. Haddock. Co. K, captain, Charles H. Henshaw; lieutenants, John Wilkeson, Jr., and Warren Granger, Jr.

On the seventh day of March, 1862, the regiment left for the seat of war, with full ranks and completely organized. Arriving at Washington, it was assigned to the first brigade, Casey's division. The last of March it was transferred to Fortress Monroe. With the rest of McClellan's army it participated in the siege of Yorktown, and the march up the peninsula. At the battle of Williamsburg the brigade, then commanded by the gallant and impetuous Gen. Naglee, supported Hancock while the latter made the charge which decided the conflict. Arriving in front of Richmond, the One Hundredth shared the excitements and discomforts of that period, being under slight fire two or three times, but without loss until the 31st of May, the day of the battle of Seven Pines.

Their introduction to the work of war was a terrible one. Three companies of the regiment were on picket, the rest were with their brigade. After divers marchings and countermarchings, Casey's division, a little after noon, became engaged with the enemy. Those who were present declare that overwhelming numbers of the foe were hurled against its unsupported ranks, and the loss sustained by it certainly proves that it was confronted by a very heavy force. The One Hundreth was on the left of the Richmond road, and in front of it was a quantity of "slashing," or trees felled hit or miss, so as to obstruct an advance.

Col. Brown had the reputation of a severe disciplinarian, but his valor was of the truest metal. During the first part of the battle he sat on his horse, coolly smoking his pipe. When the fight raged more fiercely, he galloped up and down the line, encouraging the men with his ringing words. At length came an order for Naglee's brigade to charge the enemy. To do this the One Hundredth would be compelled to march into the dense

slashing in front of them. Col. Brown was heard to mutter an angry denunciation of the order, but the next moment he thundered out the command, "Charge, the One Hundredth;" and with their leader at its head, the regiment dashed into the slashing. The rest of Naglee's brigade went forward on their right. In the slashing the troops soon broke up, and as the rebels, according to the testimony of many officers, massed several divisions on this point, Casey's whole command was soon obliged to give way. It suffered fearfully, the casualties in that one division numbering about seventeen hundred, or one-third of the entire loss of the army in the battle of Seven Pines.

The One Hundredth New York lost a hundred and sixteen men, in killed, wounded and missing, out of the four hundred present at the beginning of the fight. Lieutenants Wilkeson and Kellogg were slain. Captain Nash and Lieutenants Mayo and Brown were wounded. Lieut.-colonel Staunton was also slightly wounded. The last that was seen of Colonel Brown he was striving, with all his might, to rally the shattered and retreating lines. Then he disappeared, and was never seen more. Battling to the uttermost, he must have fallen in the deadly fray, and some one of the thousand accidents of the battle-field prevented the subsequent discovery of his body. Lieutenant Wilkeson, just mentioned as one of the killed, was a grandson of Judge Samuel Wilkeson, so often spoken of in the earlier part of this work. Post Wilkeson, of the Grand Army of the Republic, is named in honor of the slain hero of Seven Pines.

Gen. McClellan at first censured Casey's division for giving way, but on learning all the facts he revoked his criticism. Besides the casualties above mentioned, Captain Bailey, Lieutenants Lynch and Newell, and twelve men, were cut off and captured while on picket.

Throughout that fateful month of June, the One Hundredth, with Lieut.-Col. Staunton in command, shared the toils and perils of the army, but was not again in severe conflict. When McClellan determined to change the scene of operations to the banks of the James, Naglee's brigade was the rear guard of one line of march. It was engaged at Gaines' Mills, and suffered a small loss. Lieut. R. B. Smith, of the One Hundredth, was reported missing, and was never heard of afterwards. Doubtless he was

killed, and buried in some nameless grave. Being exhausted by their arduous duties as rear guard, Naglee's command was not called on to take part in the battle of Malvern Hills, where the rebels suffered such terrible punishment. Immediately afterwards, the army moved to Harrison's Landing, twenty-five miles below Richmond, where it remained during July and part of August.

During all this time disease as well as battle was thinning the ranks of our soldiery. The One Hundredth was reduced to fifteen officers and four hundred and thirty-six men, all told; less than half the number that left Buffalo four months before. It was proposed to consolidate it with some other command. Alarmed lest the identity of the regiment should be lost, its friends aroused themselves, and on the 29th of July the Buffalo Board of Trade adopted it as their especial charge. By their exertions, with other influences, the ranks were rapidly recruited.

When the greater part of McClellan's army was sent into the vicinity of Washington, the One Hundredth was left near Yorktown, and remained there till December. After much delay, the vacancy caused by the death of Col. Brown was filled by the appointment of George F. B. Dandy, of the regular army. This caused much dissatisfaction in the regiment, and Lieutenant-colonel Staunton resigned, on account of being overslaughed by an outsider. Major Otis was made lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Nash, the youthful commander of company A, was promoted to major. Several vacancies among subordinate officers had been caused during the season by deaths and resignations, and consequent promotions took place. Edwin S. Bishop was appointed quartermaster. Lieutenant Granger, then only nineteen years old, (and who by the way was a grandson of the early pioneer, Judge Granger,) became captain of company K. Lieutenants Mayo, Brunck and Topping were also appointed captains of their respective companies. Second Lieutenant Haddock, and Sergeants Charles Shaffer and Horace Baker were promoted to first lieutenants, and Charles H. Runckle, Charles Coleman, William Richardson and John McMann were commissioned as second lieutenants.

After the disasters around Richmond, in June of this year,

the President called for 300,000 more volunteers. Governor Morgan immediately divided this State into regimental districts, of which Erie county was one, appointing a committee of prominent citizens in each district to superintend the raising of a new regiment. After several efforts to find a proper commander, the committee in this district happily hit on Major Edward P. Chapin, the officer who, in 1861, had raised the Erie county company for the Forty-fourth New York, or Ellsworth regiment. His marked abilities as a soldier had soon caused his promotion to major of that regiment, in which capacity he had been present with it at the battle of Hanover Court House, where he was severely wounded. After some difficulty, he obtained the permission of his superiors, and assumed command on the 16th of August. Meanwhile a large number of recruiting-orders were issued, the work was vigorously pressed, and on the 3d of September the regiment was mustered into the United States service at Fort Porter, with 929 men, under the name of the One Hundred and Sixteenth New York volunteers. From among the numerous recruiting officers to whom permits had been given, Colonel Chapin recommended the necessary regimental officers, who were commissioned by the governor. The roster was as follows:

Field and staff, colonel, Edward P. Chapin; lieutenant-colonel, Robert Cottier; major, George M. Love; adjutant, John B. Weber; surgeon, C. B. Hutchins; assistant surgeons, Uri C. Lynde and Carey W. Howe; quartermaster, James Adams; chaplain, Welton M. Moddesit. Co. A, captain, Ira Ayer; lieutenants, J. C. Thompson and Warren T. Ferris. Co. B, captain, Albert J. Barnard; lieutenants, Leander Willis and Daniel Corbett. Co. C, captain, David W. Tuttle; lieutenants, Robert F. Atkins and Edward J. Cornwell. Co. D, captain, John Higgins; lieutenants, Charles F. Wadsworth and Elisha Seymour. Co. E, captain, Richard C. Kinney; lieutenants, James McGowan and Thos. Notter. Co. F, captain, George G. Stanbro; lieutenants, Wilson H. Grey and Clinton Hammond. Co. G. captain, John M. Sizer; lieutenants, Timothy Linahan and George Peterson. Co. H, captain, William Würz; lieutenants, David Jones and Frederick Sommers. Co. I, captain, P. R. Stover; lieutenants, George W. Carpenter and Edward Irvin. Co. K, captain, James Ayer; lieutenants, P. W. Gould and John W. Grannis.

The One Hundred and Sixteenth, like the Twenty-first, was entirely an Erie county regiment. Recruiting commissions had been sent into the country towns more liberally than before, and a large part of the command was composed of stalwart young

farmers, mechanics, etc., from the rural districts. Companies A and K were principally recruited in Evans, Hamburg, East Hamburg and vicinity. Their two captains, Ira and James Ayer, were brothers, both farmers of the town of Evans, whose entering the service was especially noticeable, as both were approaching the age of fifty, a time when most civilians think themselves exempt from the hardships of military life. Lieutenant, afterwards Major, Carpenter, with a portion of his company, was from Marilla. Co. F was raised in Concord and adjoining towns.

The regiment departed for the front on the 5th of September. Until the 1st of November it remained most of the time near Baltimore, engaged in unremitting drill. Colonel Chapin was a born soldier, and soon brought his command to a high degree of efficiency. On the 2d of November the One Hundred and Sixteenth, with other regiments, was ordered south, and after several delays and a tedious sea-voyage reached Ship Island, off the southern coast of Mississippi, on the 13th of December. Just at the close of the year they proceeded to New Orleans, and went into camp near that city.

Wiedrich's battery fought bravely and suffered severely during the campaign. On the 8th of June it was at Cross Keys, under Fremont, where six of its men were wounded, two mortally. On the 22d of August it took part in the battle of Freeman's Ford, where it had one man killed and five wounded. At the second battle of Bull Run, the gallant Germans were in the thickest of the fight, Lieutenant Schenkelberger and thirteen men being wounded, out of a little over a hundred engaged. Five of the six guns belonging to the battery were disabled, and two of their carriages had to be left on the field, but by desperate exertions the men saved the pieces. The battery was only in some minor engagements during the remainder of the year.

Turning from fields of battle to the less dangerous, though hardly less bitter, conflicts of the political arena, we find that the defeats suffered by the Union arms, during the disastrous summer of 1862, had naturally injured the administration and the party which supported it. The Democratic majority of 1861, in Erie county, was greatly increased in 1862. Hon. John Ganson, then State senator, was elected to Congress by about three thousand majority, and Cyrenius C. Torrance, of Collins, was chosen dis-

trict-attorney. The assemblymen elected this year were John W. Murphy and Horatio Seymour of Buffalo, T. A. Hopkins of Amherst, and Anson G. Conger of Collins.

By a law passed this year, Buffalo was allowed more than one supervisor for each ward, except the 13th. Some had two and some three. The list for 1862 was as follows:

Amherst, Charles C. Grove; Alden, John C. Baker; Aurora, Seth Fenner; Boston, George Brindley; Brant, Thomas Judson. Buffalo, 1st ward, Thos. Edmunds, John O'Donnell and James Fleeharty; 2d ward, John M. Scott, Amos Morgan and Jas. S. Lyon; 3d ward, James P. Bennett and John Stearn; 4th ward, B. W. Skidmore, Philip G. Lorenz and Frank Fischer; 5th ward, James S. Irwin, Henry Nauert and George Baldus; 6th ward, Jacob H. Pfohle, John Haller and Felix Bieger; 7th ward, George Reichert, Adam Weller and Henry Bitz; 8th ward, Thomas H. Myers and Dennis M. Enright; 9th ward, George P. Baker and William Ring; 10th ward, Joseph Libby and Joseph Candee; 11th ward, Thomas R. Stocking and Alfred H. Giddings; 12th ward, Christopher Laible and John A. Smith; 13th ward, Daniel M. Joslyn. Cheektowaga, Eldridge Farwell; Clarence, David Woodward; Colden, Nathan C. Francis; Collins, Marcus Bartlett; Concord, S. W. Goddard; East Hamburg, James H. Deuel; Eden, Lyman Pratt; Evans, Lyman Oatman; Elma, Christopher Peek; Grand Island, Ossian Bedell; Hamburg, Allen Dart; Holland, Nathan Morey; Lancaster, Wm. W. Bruce; Marilla, H. T. Foster; Newstead, Henry Atwood; North Collins, Wilson Rogers; Sardinia, Jas. Rider; Tonawanda, David Kohler; Wales, A. G. White; West Seneca, Nelson Reed.

While it is impracticable to notice all of the numerous institutions which have sprung up in the city of Buffalo within the last twenty years, there is one of them, the objects of which are so intimately connected with a history of Erie county that some mention of it cannot well be omitted. On the very last day of December, 1862, a few gentlemen of Buffalo signed a certificate, associating themselves together as a corporation, to be called "The Buffalo Historical Society." Its object, as stated by its constitution, was "to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the history of Western New York in general, and the city of Buffalo in particular, and to gather statistics of the commerce, manufactures and business of the lake region, and those portions of the West that are intimately connected with the business of Buffalo." A very great measure of success has rewarded its efforts, and a vast amount of valuable information has been brought together, and arranged in admirable order in its archives.

CHAPTER XLII.

1863.

The Twenty-first Regiment.—Its Return.—The Forty-ninth during the Year.—The One Hundredth in South Carolina.—Assault of Fort Wagner.—The Usual Result.—"A Mighty Nice Thing to be inside of."—The Night Attack.—Another Repulse.—Terrible Loss.—The Siege of Wagner.—Tall Men called for.—The Fort Abandoned.—The Rest of the Year.—Wiedrich's Battery.—The One Hundred and Sixteenth.—Plain Store.—Assault of Port Hudson.—Death of Col. Chapin.—The Siege and Capture.—Other Services.—The Eighty-ninth Colored Regiment.—Home Affairs.

The year opened with a feeling of sadness weighing on the whole North, on account of the numerous disasters of the preceding campaign. The Twenty-first New York remained on provost duty during the rest of its term. Capt. Sternberg was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel. The last of April, its time having expired, the regiment started for home. Its total strength had been reduced to four hundred and ninety-five officers and men. At Buffalo it received a grand ovation. Again the Union Continentals turned out under their distinguished commander. The 65th and 74th regiments of militia, and nearly the whole fire department, was in line, to greet the returning heroes, and hundreds of banners waved in welcome, on either side of their pathway. At the Central School the flag given to the regiment two years before was returned to the donors, the same young lady who had presented it in its unstained beauty, now receiving back the tattered and war-worn banner. Then, after the necessary formalities, the Twenty-first was disbanded, and the first regiment of volunteers ever enlisted in the county of Erie dissolved into the community from which it sprang.

The Forty-ninth again took the field in the spring of 1863, being part of the third brigade, second division of the Sixth corps. At Chancellorsville it was under fire, but not in the hottest of the fight. With the rest of the corps it marched northward, watching the enemy as he moved toward Pennsylvania. At 5 p. m., July 2d, the Sixth corps arrived on the field of Get-

tysburg, after having accomplished the tremendous feat of marching two hundred and fifty miles in seven days, carrying arms, accoutrements, ammunition and rations. The Forty-ninth, however, was held in reserve during the rest of the battle. Through the remainder of the season it was engaged in those marches and countermarches in Northern and Central Virginia, which formed so large a part of the occupation of the army of the Potomac. Early in December it went into winter-quarters, near Brandy Station. Up to this time the regiment had been singularly fortunate in escaping loss. Not an officer had been killed, and very few of the men. Just at the close of the year the "veteran" order was issued, calling on the soldiers to reënlist for three years more, the new term to commence forthwith, without waiting for the end of the old one. Of the Forty-ninth, a hundred and forty-nine accepted the risks of another term.

The One Hundredth regiment, having left Gloucester Point just at the close of 1862, sailed to Carolina city, North Carolina, and thence, after a month's stay, to Hilton Head, South Carolina. The last of March it was attached to the army of 16,000 men ordered against Charleston, and was selected to lead the advance in landing on Folly island, near that city. Having landed, matters remained comparatively quiet till the arrival of Gen. Gilmore, in June.

Capt. Payne was the scout of the command. He developed a peculiar tact in that direction, and was constantly employed, either alone or with a few men, in making reconnoissances both by land and sea. The summer was one of the greatest hardship. Dragging heavy guns into place, building batteries, and similar work was accomplished on a sandy island, under a burning sun, amid ten thousand insect annoyances, while malarial fever made constant havoc in the ranks.

On the 10th of July, our troops, under cover of artillery and piloted by Capt. Payne, landed in force on Morris island, still nearer Charleston and partially occupied by the enemy. Had an assault been immediately made, perhaps the foe's principal defense, Fort Wagner, would have fallen. But the men were much affected by the heat, and it was determined to defer the attack till the next morning. During the day the rebels were reinforced. At the appointed time the 100th New York, and six

other regiments selected for the purpose, made the assault. The ground to be traversed was a level plain, every part of which was swept by the guns of the fort. The ditch was crossed, and even the parapet scaled by some of the Unionists, but the charge ended, as so many others ended on both sides, in the retreat of the assailants. In a vast majority of cases the column which attacked an intrenched position, whether composed of Unionists or Confederates, was obliged to fall back.

I never read the account of such an attack and repulse, without being reminded of the words of an old Union citizen, who had fled to the little fort at Pilot Knob, Missouri, when Price made his great raid through that State, in 1864. Some time after, I heard the old gentleman telling how the rebels attacked with overwhelming numbers, how they poured in their shot and shell, how every time they charged it seemed as if they must succeed, and how, every time, they were driven back in confusion. "I tell you, boys," said the old man, "a fort is a mighty nice thing to be inside of." There was a world of military wisdom in that homely expression.

Despite the reverse of the 11th, another assault was ordered for the night of the 18th of July. Then three brigades advanced to the attack, General Strong's leading, followed first by Colonel Putnam's, and then by General Seymour's. The One Hundredth was in Putnam's command. General Stephenson's brigade acted in support. At the head of Strong's brigade marched the 54th Massachusetts, a colored regiment, led by the gallant Colonel Shaw.

Seldom have the records of battle shown a more desperate conflict. Along the level sand marched the three brigades, their way lighted up by the incessant glare of the enemy's cannon, the balls of which were constantly crashing through the advancing lines. Soon grape, canister and musketry mowed them down by the score. The fort was strongly built, heavily armed and amply manned. Yet the column pressed gallantly forward. Many crossed the ditch and mounted the wall, and for a short time held a corner of the fort. But the position they had gained was commanded by guns from the opposite side. Colonel Shaw was killed on the crest of the parapet, falling among scores of his dark but devoted followers. General Strong was wounded.

His brigade wavered. Putnam's command came hurrying up, the One Hundredth led by Colonel Dandy and Major Nash. Seymour's brigade followed. But it was in vain that they strove to force their way into the fort. Sergeant Flanders planted the flag, presented to the One Hundredth by the Buffalo Board of Trade, on the wall, but was immediately shot down. Corporal Spooner snatched up and saved the fallen banner. Major Nash was severely wounded. General Seymour was wounded. Colonel Putnam was killed. Not a brigade commander was left. The men, disheartened, began to retire, and soon the whole force was fleeing over the sandy plain, past the many corpses of their comrades, and the still more numerous wounded. Stephenson's brigade had been ordered forward, but was halted on learning of the retreat.

Fifteen hundred and seventeen (out of a column of possibly six thousand men) was the total loss in that terrible onslaught. In the One Hundredth, Adjutant Haddock and Lieutenant Runckle were killed, and Lieut. Cyrus Brown mortally wounded. Besides Major Nash, Lieutenant John McMann was fearfully wounded, Captain Rauert seriously, and Captain Granger and Lieutenant Friday slightly—eight officers killed and wounded, out of about twenty engaged. No less than eleven sergeants were wounded.

In regard to this fight, Colonel Dandy, an old soldier of the regular army, in a letter to the Board of Trade, said : "I cannot "forbear expressing my admiration of the officers and soldiers "of the One Hundredth. Under the most galling fire sustained "by any troops since the commencement of the war, the regi- "ment marched unflinchingly in line, right on the works of the "enemy. I did not see a case of misconduct. All was done "there that brave men could do, and, if we did not succeed in "taking the place, it was because, under the circumstances of "the attack, the condition of the enemy and strength of the "place, it was impossible for brave men to take it."

After the assault had failed, a siege was immediately commenced. Enormous one-hundred, two-hundred, and three-hundred-pound guns were placed in battery, and directed against Wagner and Sumter. It was then that the celebrated "Swamp Angel" battery was constructed, in a marsh where the mud was

sixteen feet deep. The lieutenant of engineers ordered to construct it declared the task utterly impossible. He was directed to proceed, however, and to call on the depot quartermaster for everything he needed. The next day he made a requisition in due form for a hundred men eighteen feet high, to wade through mud sixteen feet deep, at the same time requesting the surgeon to be prepared to splice the eighteen-feet men, if taller ones should be needed. General Gilmore did not appreciate this facetiousness, the lieutenant was arrested, and another officer constructed the battery, making a foundation of bags of sand, brought from the beach at night and flung into the mud.

In toils like these the One Hundredth passed the summer. Often the inflowing tide filled the trenches and covered ways, so that the men had to stand guard knee-deep in water, with their trousers rolled up and their shoes and stockings suspended from their necks. They were a hardy set, however, and suffered less from sickness than almost any other regiment in the department. Captain Payne continued to patrol the channel in his boat, at night, often sending up rockets to show the position of rebel steamers, and, in at least one instance, causing the destruction of a vessel by our artillery. But at length the daring scout was captured, and a long imprisonment rewarded his services.

Near the 20th of August Fort Sumter was silenced—though not captured—by Gilmore's batteries. Meanwhile, with parallels and zigzags, the engineers crept up to the counterscarp of Fort Wagner. Balls were constantly crashing and shells exploding among the working parties. The One Hundredth had a hundred and fifty men killed and wounded during the fifty days of the siege. On the 7th of September a third assault was ordered, the One Hundredth New York being again selected as one of the attacking regiments. But a terrific cannonade of forty hours warned the rebels of what was coming, and, when the troops advanced, they were agreeably disappointed to find that the enemy had abandoned their long-defended stronghold.

During the rest of the year the One Hundredth remained on Morris island, rebuilding and guarding the batteries, for the late capture did not give Gilmore either Charleston or Sumter. The hardships endured were still severe, and some men were killed and wounded, but neither the hardships nor the dangers

were great, compared with the terrible days of the spring and summer.

Besides those removed by death, many officers resigned during the year, and numerous promotions took place from the ranks. Lieutenant-colonel Otis resigned early in the season. Captain Payne was recommended to fill his place, but was taken prisoner before his commission arrived, so that he could not muster. Lieutenants Dandy, Evert, Newell, Brown, Gardner and Lynch were promoted to captains. Sergeants George H. Stowits, James Kavanaugh, James H. French, Frederick Sandrock, William Evans, Carlos H. Richmond, Myron P. Pierson, Edward Pratt and Benjamin F. Hughson were commissioned as lieutenants, the two last having been severely wounded at the storming of Wagner.

In December, a small portion of the privates reënlisted for another term, but the experience of the past summer had been a terrible damper on the romance of military life. Col. Dandy, with a number of officers and men, went to Buffalo on recruiting service, and obtained a considerable accession to the regiment.

The sturdy battery of Captain Wiedrich had its first severe conflict, during the year, at Chancellorsville. When Burnside fell back, Captain W. was obliged to leave two of his pieces—at one of them all the men but one were shot down ; at the other, four horses were killed. In all, four men were killed and fourteen wounded. After many a wearisome march, the battery was again in the thickest of the fight, at Gettysburg. In fact, it seemed never to miss a battle. In that glorious triumph of the Union arms, Wiedrich's battery lost three men killed, and Lieutenants Salm and Stock and seventeen enlisted men were wounded, making a total of twenty-two killed and wounded, out of about a hundred and twenty engaged.

In September the battery was sent to Nashville, and thence to the vicinity of Chattanooga. In November it was present at the battles of Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge, but fortunately escaped loss in both conflicts, and during the rest of the year.

The One Hundred and Sixteenth remained near New Orleans till March. Col. Chapin's soldierly qualities were so manifest,

that his regiment was transferred to a brigade in which the other colonels were his juniors, in order to get the benefit of his services as acting brigadier. His command was in Gen. Augur's division. In March that division went up the Mississippi to the vicinity of Baton Rouge and Port Hudson. Though taking part in many tedious movements, the One Hundred and Sixteenth was not in any serious engagement until the 21st of May.

On that day Gen. Augur, with two brigades, one of which was Colonel Chapin's, was marching north to seize "Plain Store," which he was ordered to hold till the arrival of the main army, which had been operating in western Louisiana. The point named was a mere Southern cross-roads store, with two or three houses, but of some possible strategical value, being situated at the intersection of the road running east from Port Hudson with the main road from Baton Rouge to Bayou Sara. It was four miles from Port Hudson, the only great rebel stronghold south of Vicksburg. The other brigade, Colonel Dudley's, was in advance, and during the afternoon drove back a force of the enemy, and then the command prepared to bivouac at Plain Store.

A battery of artillery, supported by a regiment of nine-months' men, held a position in advance, on the Port Hudson road, and was soon strongly attacked by the enemy. The command was turned out, and presently the 116th New York and 49th Massachusetts were detached from the brigade and sent forward to act under Gen. Augur's immediate orders. They had almost reached the battery, when a tremendous outburst of musketry was heard close before them, and a mob of panic-stricken nine-months' men broke through the ranks of the Forty-ninth Massachusetts, also a nine-months' regiment, causing great confusion. The value of Colonel Chapin's persistent drill and rigid discipline was at once seen. Major Love, who was in command, shouted to his men to "stand fast," and every man obeyed, and with unwavering ranks the One Hundred and Sixteenth stood till the demoralized crowd had passed to the rear, and then again moved forward. It was soon met by Gen. Augur, under whose orders it formed line. It had hardly done so, however, when a body of the enemy, which had gained its rear, suddenly opened fire on it. A "fire in the rear" is proverbially demoralizing, but the regiment at once faced about and

returned the fire with perfect coolness. I now quote directly from Captain Clark's volume:

"Some twenty or thirty rounds had been discharged when General Augur, who was near, enquired of Major Love if his regiment would stand a charge. The Major replied: 'The One Hundred and Sixteenth will do anything you order them to.' 'You have my order then, sir,' said the general. Riding down the front of the regiment, exposed to the fire of his own inexperienced men as well as that of the enemy, Major Love informed the commandant of each company of the general's orders, then rode back to the center of the line, and taking off his old felt hat waved us on, leading us about twenty paces in advance. The yell which now broke from our throats, and echoed through the woods, had that in it which the enemy must have felt to their finger tips. They knew what was coming, and stood not upon the order of their going, but went at once, retreating across an open field and into another belt of woods, where making another stand, we were halted and commenced to return their fire. But a very few rounds of ammunition were discharged, however, when General Augur, who had followed our movement, ordered us to charge a second time, which was as successful as the first, utterly routing the rebels, and ending the battle of 'Plain Store.'"

Thus, in its first battle the One Hundred and Sixteenth achieved a brilliant success. Thirteen men were killed and forty-four wounded in the regiment, during the short time it was engaged, showing that it was opposed by no inconsiderable foe. Lieut. Borusky was mortally wounded. After the battle, General Augur publicly congratulated Colonel Chapin, declaring that for the victory he was mainly indebted to the valor of the 116th New York volunteers. Said the general: "They have most gallantly driven Miles' Legion, who claim never to have been driven before."

Two days later Banks arrived, and Port Hudson was invested. A council of war determined to endeavor to carry the fortifications by assault. Each brigade was to be preceded by a storming party of two hundred special volunteers. Fifty was the number of enlisted men required for this terrible duty from the 116th New York; sixty-six volunteered, besides Major Love, Captains Higgins, Kinney and Wadsworth, and Lieutenants McGowan, Grey, Ferris, Morgan and Dobbins. Not half of these officers could be employed, and the little detachment was placed under the command of Lieutenant Morgan.

On the 27th of May the assault was made. The ground in front of the fortifications was cut up by numerous ravines, and for a thousand yards the trees had all been cut down, forming an almost impenetrable "slashing." About two o'clock in the afternoon came the order to advance. Col. Chapin led the brigade storming-party out of the woods, and directed them on their course, and then turned to lead the brigade itself, which came not far behind. It was met by a storm of cannon balls and bullets, and soon became entangled in the slashing. Chapin urged forward the men with alternate cheers and threats. Very early in the engagement he was wounded in the knee. He continued to press on, but in a few moments was shot through the head and instantly killed. The brigade being left without a commander, and the line being hopelessly broken up by the slashing, the men sought shelter and returned the enemy's fire. The field officer (Lieutenant-colonel O'Brian, of the 48th Mass.) commanding the brigade storming, was killed as near the intrenchments as it was possible to get. In a brief space of time the One Hundred and Sixteenth had a hundred and one men killed and wounded, besides Colonel Chapin killed, and Lieuts. Grey, Morgan and Jones wounded, the last mortally. In the brigades on the right hand and the left, the result was similar. It was found impossible to work their way through the slashing, in face of the leaden hail that rained from the rebel breastworks, and late in the afternoon the army retreated to the shelter of the forest.

The loss of Col. Chapin was deeply deplored, not only by his own regiment but by the whole army. The universal testimony of his brother soldiers is that no more devoted or more gallant officer ever wore the American uniform, and even in professional skill the young Erie county volunteer was surpassed by very few. In commemoration of his services, President Lincoln sent to his sorrowing father a commission appointing Colonel Chapin a brigadier-general, to date from the day of his death, and Post Chapin, of the Grand Army of the Republic, keeps his memory green among his comrades.

After the failure of the assault, a siege was begun, and the usual slow approaches were made toward the enemy's works. On the 14th of June the One Hundred and Sixteenth, with other regi-

ments, made a feigned attack (in skirmish line) on the enemy's center, while the forces on the right and left again attempted to enter the works. In this they were unsuccessful, but their lines were in some places advanced to within fifty yards of the fortifications. The regiment whose course we are following lost one officer (Lieutenant Linahan) and four men killed, and twenty-three wounded. Even after all these disasters, when a call was made for volunteers for another storming party, twenty-four gallant soldiers of the One Hundred and Sixteenth promptly responded. With others destined for the same desperate service they were organized and drilled in a special brigade. Before, however, they were called on to act, Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant, and immediately afterwards General Gardner, the commander of Port Hudson, gave up the now hopeless task of defense, and yielded to General Banks.

A few days later the regiment went to Donaldsonville and was engaged in a sharp conflict in defending it from the rebel forces of General Taylor. Captain Tuttle was instantly slain while saving a piece of artillery of which the horses had been killed. The regiment remained on the Mississippi till September, when it was moved into western Louisiana, where during the rest of the year it did a good deal of marching, but no serious fighting.

Meanwhile Major Love was commissioned as colonel, and Captains Higgins and Sizer as lieutenant-colonel and major. The new colonel, having recovered from his wound, resumed command. Numerous other promotions had taken place since the organization of the regiment. Lieutenants Wadsworth, Gray, Atkins, Seymour, McGowan, Carpenter and Ferris had been made captains, and Sergeants Orton S. Clark, Jacob C. Newton, George N. Brown, John H. Rohan, George W. Miller, Charles Borusky, Charles S. Crary, Charles E. Paine, Philip J. Weber, Andrew Brunn, William J. Morgan, and George H. Shepard, were promoted to lieutenants.

When the rebels broke into Pennsylvania, numerous regiments of militia from that State and New York were hurried forward to aid in stemming the tide of invasion. Among them were the 67th and 74th, from Erie county. The former, commanded by Colonel Chauncey Abbott and Lieutenant-colonel

Clough, went to Harrisburg, where it was held, with other forces, some thirty days, to prevent a possible irruption of the enemy in that direction. The Seventy-fourth, under Col. Watson A. Fox, was marched as far as Maryland, but did not come in sight of the foe.

At home, the political warfare raged with red-hot intensity. In Erie county, the Democrats still held control, and in the fall of 1863 elected James M. Humphrey State senator, Francis C. Brunck county treasurer, and Jonathan Hascall, of Brant, surrogate. The following assemblymen were chosen at the same time: Walter W. Stanard and Frederick P. Stevens of Buffalo, Timothy S. Hopkins of Amherst, and Seth Fenner of Aurora.

This year the law regarding supervisors was again changed, so that each ward of Buffalo had two, except the Thirteenth, which was allowed one. This gave the city twenty-five members of the board, the country towns having the same number, and this balance between city and country has ever since been maintained. The list for 1863 is as follows:

Alden, Herman A. Wende; Amherst, Charles C. Grove; Aurora, Dorr Spooner; Boston, George Brinley; Brant, Nathaniel Smith. Buffalo, 1st ward, James Fleeharty and Thomas M. Knight; second ward, Wm. M. Scott and James S. Lyon; third ward, George Bymus and John Zier; fourth ward, Frank Fischer and Joseph W. Smith; fifth ward, James S. Irwin and George Baldus; sixth ward, Jacob H. Pfohle and Felix Bieger; seventh ward, Henry Bitz and George Pfeiffer; eighth ward, James McCool and Michael Carroll; ninth ward, William Ring and W. B. Peck; tenth ward, Charles E. Young and Robert Carmichael; eleventh ward, Thomas R. Stocking and William Richardson; twelfth ward, Christopher Laible and Henry Mochel; thirteenth ward, George Orr. Cheektowaga, Simeon H. Joslyn; Colden, Nathan C. Francis; Concord, S. W. Goddard; Clarence, David Woodward; Collins, Joseph H. Plumb; East Hamburg, Ambrose C. Johnson; Eden, Azel Austin; Elma, Christopher Peek; Evans, Lyman Oatman; Grand Island, Levant Ransom; Hamburg, Allen Dart; Holland, Philip D. Riley; Lancaster, John M. Safford; Marilla, H. T. Foster; Newstead, E. P. Goslin; North Collins, Giles Gifford; Sardinia, Welcome Andrews; Tonawanda, David Kohler; Wales, Clark Hudson; West Seneca, Richard Caldwell.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1864 AND 1865.

The Decimated Forty-ninth.—The Victory of Fort Stevens.—Colonel Bidwell Promoted.—Opequan Creek and Cedar Creek.—Death of General Bidwell.—Remarkable Loss of Officers.—Before Petersburg.—Another Commander Killed.—Home at Last.—The One Hundredth on the James.—Battle after Battle.—A Brilliant Exploit.—The Petersburg Trenches.—"In at the Death."—Capture of Fort Greig.—Mustered Out.—Wiedrich's Battery Goes Down to the Sea.—Colonel Abbott's Militia Regiment.—The One Hundred and Sixteenth in motion.—Up the Red River.—Down the Red River.—Back to Virginia.—In the Shenandoah Valley.—The Battle of Opequan Creek.—Fisher's Hill.—Cedar Creek.—Sheridan's Speech.—Complete Victory.—A High Compliment.—The One Hundred and Sixteenth Comes Home.—Grand Ovation.—Other Erie County Soldiers.—Eaton's and Wheeler's Batteries.—Companies in the 33d, 78th, 155th and 164th New York Infantry, 2d Mounted Rifles, etc.—The 187th Infantry.—Civil Officers.

Again we revert to that gallant band, the 49th New York. Up to the spring of 1864, that regiment, though always responding readily to every call of duty, had chanced to escape severe loss from bullets. On the 4th of May, still in the Sixth corps, it moved with the rest of the army toward Richmond. Its three field-officers were all on duty, Colonel Bidwell being in command of the brigade, and Lieutenant-colonel Johnson and Major Ellis with the regiment. Its numbers had been reduced to three hundred and eighty-four men, but every man was a hero.

On the 5th of May the army of the Potomac struck the enemy in the Wilderness, and in the fierce conflict which ensued, on that and the succeeding day, the Forty-ninth was in the hottest of the fray. In those two terrible days, Captains Plogsted, Wiggins and Hickmott, and Lieutenants Valentine and Preston were killed or mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Wilder wounded. Five officers killed in a single battle, out of about twenty present, tells the tale of valor and destruction more forcibly than the most elaborate eulogy could do.

Marching forward with its depleted ranks, the Forty-ninth

again met the foe at the battle of Spottsylvania. In this conflict Major Ellis was wounded by a ramrod flung from some rebel gun, which pierced his arm and bruised his chest, but was not then supposed to have done serious injury, though it finally proved mortal. On that day, too, Captain Terry and Lieuts. Tyler and Haas were killed, and other officers wounded. Again continuing their course, and driving back the enemy by successive flank movements, the army engaged in the terrific conflict of Cold Harbor. There, at the "death angle" fell Captain Heacock, and about the same time Lieutenants McVean and Sayer. Thus, in those four conflicts, occurring within two weeks, twelve officers, including a major and five captains, had been killed or mortally wounded, being more than half the number present with the regiment. Besides these, several others had been wounded, though the number of deaths among the officers was large compared with that of the wounded. It must be admitted that, though the chances of promotion were numerous, yet the encouragement to seek promotion was very poor.

The proportion of deaths was not so great among the men, but the total list of killed and wounded was fearfully long. In those two weeks, out of the three hundred and eighty-four men with which the regiment left Brandy Station, sixty-one had been killed, and a hundred and fifty-five wounded, and thirty were reported missing. Of the latter many were undoubtedly killed, whose fate was unknown, and others were wounded and taken prisoners. Not less than two hundred and thirty in all were killed and wounded, or three fifths of the total strength. Many of the wounded, however, soon returned to duty, and the ranks received some recruits.

About the first of July the Sixth corps was sent to defend Washington, then threatened by General Early. Scarcely had it arrived when it was engaged in a decisive conflict with the enemy, who attempted to take Fort Stevens, a short distance from Washington, on the Virginia side. President Lincoln was present, and saw Colonel Bidwell's brigade charge up a hill and drive back the foe. The Forty-ninth lost twenty-one killed and wounded, one of the former being its commander, Lieutenant-colonel Johnson. The President was so well pleased with the valor and vigor displayed by Colonel Bidwell that he appointed

him brigadier-general immediately afterwards. On the 3d of August Major Ellis died of the wound received at Spottsylvania, a splinter from a fractured bone having entered his heart. Captains Holt and Brazee, the former of Chautauqua county, the latter of Niagara, were appointed lieutenant-colonel and major.

The Sixth corps having been placed under the command of Sheridan, pursued the retiring Early, and, after numerous hard marches, was again in battle at Opequan Creek, where the 49th lost eight killed and wounded. In September eighty-nine men, all of the original regiment who had not reënlisted, returned to Buffalo under Major Brazee, and were discharged. Captain George H. Selkirk, of Buffalo, was made major in Brazee's place. About the same time, the regiment, now recruited to 410 men, was consolidated into a battalion of five companies, still retaining the appellation of "The Forty-ninth."

At the battle of Cedar Creek, on the 19th of October, Bidwell's brigade was, as usual, at the front; and the Forty-ninth suffered a loss of thirty-seven, all told. Here, too, the gallant Bidwell, the only colonel of the regiment, while gallantly leading his brigade, was stricken down in death by the bullet of the foe. A fuller account of the operations in the valley will be found a few pages later, in the story of the One Hundred and Sixteenth regiment.

Thus, in less than six months, every one of the three field officers of the Forty-ninth who had turned their horses' heads southward in the beginning of May, had been killed, besides five of its captains. It is doubtful if another regiment in the service suffered such a loss of officers in so short a time. Thus, too, of the three three-years regiments principally raised in Erie county, every one of the colonels had been killed in action. General Bidwell was recognized as a worthy peer of Chapin and of Brown, (one of his superiors styled him the "Man of Iron,") and Post Bidwell, of the Grand Army of the Republic, does honor to itself and him by bearing his name.

In December the battalion returned to the vicinity of Richmond, but was not engaged in any very dangerous service during the winter.

In April, 1865, however, it was again hotly engaged in the final operations around Petersburg, and the fatality of the last

year seemed still to hang over its field-officers; for Lieutenant-colonel Holt was mortally wounded, and died on the seventh of April. Major Selkirk was promoted to lieutenant-colonel, and as the war had now ceased, he escaped the fate of his predecessors. All these later field-officers, appointed after the death of Major Ellis, had gone to the front as lieutenants, not one of the original captains being left in the battalion. In fact, I think that Colonel Selkirk was the only remaining lieutenant, and that the line officers had all gone out as non-commissioned officers or privates. Certainly, the list of captains in commission when the battalion was mustered out—viz., William J. Kaiser, Thomas J. Cluny, Walter D. Wilder, Solomon W. Russell, Jr., and Henry J. Gifford—contained not a name that was on the original roster of officers. The battalion, again reduced to eighteen officers and two hundred and seventy-four men, was mustered out late in June, but it was not till the third of July that the little squad of veterans, who represented Erie county in its feeble ranks, returned to their homes.

The wearied and decimated One Hundredth remained at Morris island through the winter of 1863–4. In January, fifty men reënlisted, and went north on veteran furlough. The terrible experience of the previous summer did not offer many inducements to continue in such service.

In the spring the regiment, with a large part of Gilmore's command, was transferred to the banks of the James river, to reinforce Gen. Butler. Scarcely had they arrived when they took part in the fight at Walthal Junction, May 7th, 1864, driving back the enemy, and destroying a portion of the Richmond and Petersburg railroad. Captain Richardson and Lieutenant Adriance were wounded in this conflict. On the 12th the regiment aided to capture Fort Darling, and successfully charged the enemy beyond it, losing several men, killed and wounded. The next day there was more desultory fighting, and Lieutenant Hoyt was mortally wounded. Lieutenant Pratt was wounded in the foot, and the historian of the regiment relates that young P. seemed vexed at nothing, except his being obliged to stop fighting.

On the morning of the 16th, under cover of a very heavy fog, Gen. Beauregard made a sudden attack on Gen. Butler's right,

gaining a decided advantage. The One Hundredth was sent forward of the main line, alone, and lay down, awaiting orders. None came. Orderlies were sent to them, but were wounded and returned. So the One Hundredth remained until an overwhelming force of the enemy suddenly emerged from the fog, poured in an annihilating fire upon the feeble regiment, and drove it back upon the reserves. Lieutenant French was mortally wounded, Lieutenant Babbitt was wounded, and Lieutenant Pierson captured. Color-sergeant McKay was wounded, and when Lieutenant Stowits offered to carry the flag, he replied: "No. I must place it in the hands of the colonel." He did so, and not till then would the wounded soldier enter an ambulance. This conflict was known as the battle of Drury's Bluff, and the loss of the One Hundredth was very heavy. Colonel Plaistead, commanding the brigade, in his official report, after describing how the One Hundredth refused to retire without orders, added:

"Throughout the expedition this gallant regiment had the "advance, and always willing, always ready, was the first and fore-"most in the fight, and last to leave the field. Upon every occa-"sion, under its gallant leader, its conduct was most creditable "to itself and the great State it represents."

On the 21st of May the regiment aided in defeating the enemy, in the sharp contest of "Ware Bottom Church." For over two months it remained in that vicinity, on almost incessant duty; fatigue and picket service occupying nearly all the time.

In the early part of August, at "Deep Bottom," the One Hundredth, led by Dandy and Nash, and supported by the 6th Connecticut, charged through a ravine under the eye of General Grant, against a rebel battery, received its fire without wavering, and captured all its four guns at the point of the bayonet. This was one of the most brilliant exploits of the war, and reflects the highest glory on our Erie county heroes. About thirty men were killed and wounded, one of the latter being Lieut. McMann.

On the 16th of August the regiment, with others, charged the rebels, lying intrenched as usual, and was repulsed by a terrific fire, Captain Granger being taken prisoner. The night of the 18th the rebels with furious energy, charged the intrenchments of the One Hundredth and were in turn scattered and driven back. Both sides learned, by oft-repeated experience, that a fort—

or even a line of rifle-pits—was, as the old Missouri farmer said, "a mighty nice thing to be inside of." But, as the rebels were acting on the defensive, they could almost always manage to be inside the fortifications, a fact which, I think, has hardly been appreciated by a good many people, who apparently would like to disparage the achievements of the Union soldiers by talking about their preponderance of numbers, but who conveniently neglect to say anything about the eternal fortifications of the rebels.

During September the One Hundredth lay in the trenches before Petersburg, (styled the *inferno* by those who were there,) exchanging volleys with the rebels at short range. After taking part in one of Butler's movements north of the James, it aided in making a feigned attack on the rebel left, while several corps attempted to flank their right. The movement failed. Lieut. Stowits, then acting as brigade-adjutant, was wounded while endeavoring to advance the skirmish line.

After that, the regiment remained in its intrenchments during the rest of the year. Maj. Nash, several other officers, and 174 men having served over three years, were discharged. The regiment was then almost a new one. The line officers had nearly all gone to the front as sergeants, and there were not in the ranks enough of the men originally enlisted, to serve as non-commissioned officers. That winter, Sergeants Charles Sheldon, Samuel Ely, Henry Heimans, Mansfield Cornell, Jonathan E. Head and Albert York were commissioned as lieutenants; Lieutenants G. H. Stowits, Edwin Nichols, Edward Pratt, E. S. Cook, H. W. Conry and C. K. Baker were made captains; and Capt. J. H. Dandy (brother of the colonel) was appointed major.

Like the Forty-ninth, the One Hundredth was "in at the death" of the slave-drivers' confederacy. On the 27th of March it left its camp to take part in the final movements. After several days of constant marching or fighting, the regiment found itself on Sunday, the 2d day of April, in front of Fort Greig, one of the last of the rebel strongholds in rear of Petersburg. Its division (the first of the Twenty-fourth corps) was ordered to assault it. The defenders were comparatively few, but amply protected by the walls of the fort, and desperate to the last degree. For nearly half an hour the conflict was kept up. At

the end of that time the colors of the One Hundredth New York, the first in the whole division, were planted on the parapet. Scarcely was this done when the color-bearer was shot down. Major Dandy, then in command of the regiment, sprang forward to raise the flag, when he, too, was instantly killed. But the column surged on, and in a moment more obtained possession of the fort, finding seven eighths of its defenders lying dead or wounded on the ground. Certainly, the defenders of Fort Greig came as near all "dying in the last ditch" as any human beings ever need to do.

This was the last battle of the One Hundredth. Appomatox followed on Wednesday, and, after four days more of march, and maneuver, and conflict, and intense excitement over the evident wreck of the falling confederacy, the army of Lee surrendered to the army of Grant.

It was not till the 28th of August that the regiment was discharged, the intervening time having been passed in comparatively easy duty, mostly at Richmond. Even on the eve of return there were several promotions, useful only as marks of respect to the recipients. Captain Granger was appointed lieutenant-colonel. Though only twenty-two years old, and having gone out as the junior second lieutenant in 1862, he was, when thus promoted, the ranking captain of the regiment, and was, I think, the only officer remaining, of those on the original roster. Captain Stowits was commissioned as major, but resigned before muster. Lieutenants Connelly, Head, Conry and Ely became captains, and Frank Casey, Peter Kelly, John S. Manning, John Gordon, Charles H. Waite and Joseph Pratt, were appointed lieutenants. Two other regiments having been consolidated with the One Hundredth, the whole body was mustered out at Albany, so that the Board of Trade regiment did not receive the ovation which would otherwise have greeted it.

A few more words for the bold Germans of Wiedrich's battery. Early in February the gallant captain was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 15th New York artillery. Lieutenant Sahm was promoted to captain, but soon after died, and Captain Winegar took command. But the organization was still best known as "Wiedrich's Battery." Sixty of the men reënlisted as veterans, being more than half of the original members. The

battery went through with Sherman to Atlanta, and thence to the sea, and participated in nearly every battle on the route.

The nature of artillery service is well shown by a survey of its casualties. It did not suffer very severe loss at any one time, but whenever the foe made a stand it was brought to the front, and generally some of its men were killed or wounded. At Lost Mountain, June 4th, two men were wounded; at Ackworth station one was killed; at Kenesaw Mountain one man was killed and one wounded; at Peach Tree Creek, July 20th, one was killed and five were wounded, and at the siege of Atlanta Lieutenant Henchen was killed, and two men were mortally wounded. The battery accompanied Sherman to the sea, and thence on his triumphal march northward, but was not in any other serious engagement, and in 1865 was mustered out, with the rest of the victorious army of the Republic.

At this time a conscription law had been passed, and the large bounties paid by cities and towns to escape the draft attracted a host of dubious recruits, who needed much watching and were generally sent to the front under guard. After the Gettysburg invasion, a law was passed in this State directing that there should be a militia regiment in each assembly district. Dr. George Abbott, of Hamburg, raised a new regiment for the fifth district. This was sent to Elmira in the summer of 1864, under Colonel Abbott, Lieutenant-colonel C. C. Smith and Major William C. Church, and kept there near four months, acting as guard both for the rebel prisoners and for unreliable recruits. Numerous detachments of Col. A.'s regiment went through even to Petersburg, with recruits, and it speaks well for the discipline of the militiamen that not a rebel nor a bounty-jumper ever escaped from their grasp.

During the early part of 1864, the One Hundred and Sixteenth New York remained in camp near Franklin, Louisiana. That camp they so constructed and ornamented that it was considered one of the great curiosities of the southwestern army. From this pleasant abiding place the One Hundred and Sixteenth departed, on the fifteenth of March, for the celebrated Red river campaign. With some twenty thousand other troops it marched to Alexandria, where they were joined by fifteen or twenty thousand more, and the whole force took its way up

the Red river. On the 8th of April, the Nineteenth corps, to which the One Hundred and Sixteenth belonged, reached a point eight miles above Pleasant Hill. Eight miles ahead of it was the Thirteenth corps, with a large cavalry force still farther in advance, while parts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth corps, forming the command of Gen. A. J. Smith, were eight miles in rear of the Nineteenth.

The enemy suddenly attacked the cavalry in force, captured their artillery and supply-train, and then overwhelmed the Thirteenth corps, and sent them back in utter rout. The Nineteenth corps was formed in line of battle, and the men of the One Hundred and Sixteenth New York, with their comrades, awaited the onslaught of the victors. The latter came on with exultant yells, but the Erie county men held their fire till their foes were within a few paces, and then delivered it with such telling effect that the rebels instantly fled, and did not return that day. In this conflict, sometimes called the battle of Sabine Cross Roads, the regiment had two killed and nineteen wounded.

It would seem that the position thus maintained might have been held, but Gen. Banks thought otherwise, and the corps retreated, at midnight, to Pleasant Hill. Then the whole army awaited the attack of the foe. They came, attacked, and were driven back, with heavy loss. The One Hundred and Sixteenth being sheltered by a rude fortification of rails, on their front, lost only two men killed and ten wounded. But even this victory was only valued by General Banks as giving him another opportunity to escape. At midnight, the whole army was again moved to the rear, and halted but a short time till it reached Alexandria. While there, the One Hundred and Sixteenth and a few other regiments built the celebrated dam, by which our fleet of gunboats, imprisoned above the Red river rapids, was enabled to float down and escape the foe. The army then returned to the Mississippi.

In the forepart of July, the Nineteenth corps went back by sea to northern Virginia, arriving at Washington the same day that Bidwell's brigade won the victory of Fort Stevens. After numerous fruitless marches, the whole army in northern Virginia was placed under a young commander, till then but little known, General Philip H. Sheridan. His command was soon in

the Shenandoah Valley, where Sheridan and Early moved backward and forward, each apparently satisfied if he could hold the other in check, and prevent his aiding one of the main armies. This continued till the 19th of September, when the battle of Opequan Creek was fought. After a stubborn fight between the Sixth and Nineteenth corps (the 49th New York was in the former, the 116th in the latter,) and the rebels, with no great advantage on either side, the Eighth corps and Custer's cavalry, which had been held in reserve, charged and utterly routed the foe. Nine men killed and forty wounded was the cost of this victory to the One Hundred and Sixteenth.

The army pressed forward rapidly after the beaten enemy, overtook him at Fisher's Hill, and inflicted the most complete defeat, capturing two thousand prisoners and twenty-one pieces of artillery. Sheridan chased Early up the valley as much farther as it was thought best to go, and then returned toward his base of supplies. Early, with some reinforcements, immediately gathered up his command as best he could, and followed. At Cedar Creek he managed to surprise the Eighth corps, utterly routing them and capturing twenty-four pieces of artillery. Sheridan had gone forward, and was many miles down the valley. Gen. Wright ordered the army to retreat. The rebels followed in exultant and somewhat disorganized pursuit.

When four miles were thus passed, thundering cheers told of the arrival of Sheridan. After his famous ride from "twenty miles away" the fiery little general was in the field, turning the retreating lines toward the enemy. The men were formed in battle order, and then allowed to make coffee. While the One Hundred and Sixteenth was at this welcome task, another outburst of cheers was heard, rapidly approaching nearer. In a few moments "Little Phil," on his celebrated coal-black steed, rode along the line of the regiment.

"Boys," he cried, "this should never have happened if I had "been here. But we are going to our old camp to sleep to-night, "for we're going to get the tightest twist on them you ever saw. "I tell you we'll lick them out of their boots before night, if you'll "only fight." The wildest cheers rent the air, the "boys" flung their caps on high, and swore that if "Little Phil" would only lead them no enemy on earth should stop them.

But Sheridan could be cautious as well as venturesome, and it was not till the men were well rested and fed, and he had thoroughly scanned the ground, that, at three o'clock, the line advanced. While thus moving forward with the rest of the line, the brigade to which the One Hundred and Sixteenth belonged was received with a severe fire from a stone wall, across an open field. It was a bad place for a charge, but the brigade commander, Colonel Davis, ordered and led one, and Colonel Love, as usual, rode in front of the One Hundred and Sixteenth. The men went forward with a cheer, and drove the rebels from the wall at the point of the bayonet, Colonel L. having his horse killed under him.

After following the enemy some distance, the brigade found itself alone. But Sheridan came up immediately afterwards, and at once sent an order to Gen. Emory, commanding the Nineteenth corps, to hurry up reinforcements, saying, "The first brigade has burst through the enemy's line; send them reinforcements at once." It was done, and soon, while Custer's cavalry charged successfully on the right, the first division moved forward, charged and scattered a strong opposing force, uncovered the enemy's flank, and caused his immediate retreat.

An exciting chase followed, in which thousands of prisoners were captured, besides battle flags, artillery, and small arms innumerable. The men of the One Hundred and Sixteenth were the first to plant their flag on the works at Cedar Creek. So swift had been their charges that they had suffered less than they might have done in less audacious fighting. The regiment had seven men killed and forty-four wounded.

This was the last battle of the One Hundred and Sixteenth New York. During the winter it remained in the valley, guarding railroads, etc. It is worth noticing that, when Gen. Emory received orders to issue some patent "gun-cappers," for trial, to "the best regiment in the Nineteenth corps," he selected the One Hundred and Sixteenth New York, and his opinion was endorsed by General Sheridan. The "gun-cappers" were found worthless, but the honor was none the less emphatic. In the spring the regiment was sent to Washington, where it remained till June, when it returned home.

Though the regiment had suffered severe losses, it was not as

much changed as many others. There was still a large proportion of its first men in the ranks, and a few of the original roster of officers. Colonel Love had been brevetted a brigadier-general for gallant conduct at Cedar Creek, but returned in command of the regiment. John M. Sizer was lieutenant-colonel, and George W. Carpenter major. John C. Nial was adjutant, George W. Miller quartermaster, C. B. Hutchins surgeon, M. E. Shaw assistant surgeon, and H. J. Gordon chaplain. Few companies had more than two officers. The list comprised Capt. G. H. Shepard and 1st Lieut. J. G. Dayton, of "A;" Captain J. G. Woehnert and Lieuts. W. F. Feldman and Samuel Leonard, of "B;" Captain W. J. Morgan and 2d Lieutenant John Hoppes, of "C;" Captain E. W. Seymour, of "D;" 1st Lieut. H. A. C. Swartz, of "E;" Captain C. S. Crary and 1st Lieut. Wm. Holden, of "G;" Captain O. S. Clark and 1st Lieutenant W. W. Grace, of "F;" Captain J. H. Rohan and 1st Lieutenant C. D. Ballard, of "H;" Captain Wm. Tibbits and 1st Lieut. C. H. Curry, of "I," and Captain W. T. Ferris and 1st Lieut. J. H. Dingman, of "K."

The regiment arrived in Buffalo on the 13th of June. There had been some mistakes made with regard to the reception of detachments of returning volunteers, but that given to the One Hundred and Sixteenth was of the warmest description. The whole city turned out to welcome them, banners waved by the hundred, and cheers rent the air at every step, as in holiday attire, and with the perfect drill on which they prided themselves, the veteran regiment marched through the principal streets of the city. Two weeks later the men were finally paid off, and the last regiment of Erie-county, three-years' volunteers became citizens once more.

I have now given a brief, imperfect sketch of the services of the regiments raised in this county, and serving for two or more years. I must again express my regret that I cannot give due credit to many others of our soldiers, who served in scattered detachments with equal valor and fidelity.

In the fall of 1862, battery No. 27, New York artillery, went to the front from Erie county, under Captain J. B. Eaton and Lieutenants W. A. Bird, Jr., and C. A. Clark, and served throughout the war. The next year battery No. 33 went out under

Captain A. M. Wheeler and Lieutenant J. D. Woods, also serving to the end.

In the fall of 1862, several companies were raised in this county for a new regiment, which were finally divided among other organizations. Two companies went into the 155th New York; one under Captain John Byrne, and Lieutenants James Worthington and Hugh Mooney, the other under Captain James McConvey, and Lieutenants John McNally and John Ternan. The 155th served in the army of the Potomac to the end, Capt. Byrne fighting his way up to the colonelcy. Two other companies went into the 164th New York, one under Captain Christopher Graham and Lieutenants Walters and Kelley, the other under Captain T. W. Kelly and Lieutenants Sizer and Stapleton. That regiment was brigaded with the 155th, and shared all its toils and its combats. Two or three companies from Erie county also went in the beginning of the war into the 33d infantry, serving three years. Captains Gail and Hamilton were Erie county officers of that regiment. One company, raised principally in Amherst and Clarence, joined the 78th regiment, under Captain W. H. Randall and Lieutenants Levi Metz and John Blocher.

In the fall of 1864, the 187th regiment was raised principally in Erie county, and largely from the 65th militia. It enlisted for two years, but, on account of the close of the war, served only about nine months. Not being quite full, it mustered no colonel; serving under Lieutenant-colonel Myers and Major Conrad Sieber. At the battle of Hatcher's Run it lost sixty killed and wounded, and was in several minor affairs. Two companies also entered the 2d mounted rifles, under Captains Wells and Stevenson, in the beginning of 1864. Individuals, too, from Erie county were in the 24th New York Cavalry and many other organizations. The story of their services is preserved on no historic page, and many of them sleep in unknown graves, but, from those records which are known, it may well be presumed that the sons of Erie county wherever found, were the peers of any of their comrades in the army of the nation.

In the fall of 1864 the Democrats, for the fourth time, carried the county, electing James M. Humphrey member of Congress,

Stephen Lockwood county judge, Oliver J. Eggert sheriff, and L. P. Dayton county clerk. The following assemblymen were also chosen: Walter W. Stanard and Harmon S. Cutting of Buffalo, John G. Langner of West Seneca, and Edwin W. Godfrey of Collins. The next year the Republicans were at last successful, electing David S. Bennett State senator, and Lyman K. Bass district-attorney. The assemblymen then chosen were William Williams and J. L. C. Jewett of Buffalo, John G. Langner of West Seneca, and Levi Potter of East Hamburg. The list of supervisors for the two years is as follows:

Alden, 1864, Herman A. Wende; 1865, William Slade. Amherst, 1864 and '65, Benjamin Miller. Aurora, 1864 and '65, Dorr Spooner. Boston, 1864 and '65, A. D. Cary. Brant, 1864 and '65, Nathaniel Smith.

Buffalo, first ward, 1864, T. M. Knight and Dennis McNamara; 1865, James Fleeharty and Joseph Murphy. Second ward, 1864, J. S. Lyon and Hugh Webster; 1865, Hugh Webster and Walter G. Seeley. Third ward, 1864 and '65, John Zier and Matthew O'Brien. Fourth ward, 1864, Harmon H. Griffin and Jacob Gittere; 1865, M. Leo Ritt and Levi Curtiss. Fifth ward, 1864 and '65, James S. Irwin and George Baldus. Sixth ward, 1864 and '65, J. Stengel and Jacob Himmens. Seventh ward, 1864, Henry Benz and George J. Buchheit; 1865, John Gisel and Louis Fritz. Eighth ward, 1864, Price A. Matteson and John Hopkins; 1865, George Diebold and Cyrus Harmon. Ninth ward, 1864, Wm. Ring and W. B. Peck; 1865, C. A. Van Slyke and A. J. Buckland. Tenth ward, 1864 and '65, C. E. Young and Robert Carmichael. Eleventh ward, 1864 and '65, T. R. Stocking and Wm. Richardson. Twelfth ward, 1864, Christopher Laible and Henry Mochel; 1865, Wm. Post and Robert Ambrose. Thirteenth ward, 1864 and '65, Geo. Orr.

Cheektowaga, 1864 and '65, E. Selden Ely. Clarence, 1864, David Woodward; 1865, L. G. Wiltse. Colden, 1864 and '65, Richard E. Bowen. Collins, 1864 and '65, Joseph H. Plumb. Concord, 1864 and '65, Philetus Allen. East Hamburg, 1864 and '65, Levi Potter. Eden, 1864 and '65, Nelson Welch. Elma, 1864 and '65, L. M. Bullis. Evans, 1864, John H. Andrews; 1865, Lyman Oatman. Grand Island, 1864 and '65, John Nice. Hamburg, 1864 and '65, Allen Dart. Holland, 1864, Philip D. Riley; 1865, John O. Riley. Lancaster, 1864, John T. Wheelock; 1865, F. H. James. Marilla, 1864, H. T. Foster; 1865, Samuel S. Adams. Newstead, 1864 and '65, E. P. Goslin. North Collins, 1864, Wilson Rogers; 1865, D. Allen. Sardinia, 1864 and '65, Welcome Andrews. Tonawanda, 1864 and '65, Benjamin H. Long. Wales, 1864, Clark Hudson; 1865, Alonzo Havens. West Seneca, 1864, Richard Caldwell; 1865, Charles J. James.

CHAPTER XLIV.

SINCE THE WAR.

Closing up.—The Officials of Ten Years.—The Political See-saw.—Mayors and Judges.—A Long List of Supervisors.—Great Increase of Germans.—The German Young Men's Association.—The Liedertafel, Orpheus, Saengerbund and Turnverein.—German Newspapers.—English Newspapers.—Sundry Societies.—The County and City Hall.—Science on the Hunting Grounds.

Those who want exciting reading will probably, in their perusal of this work, stop with the close of the war. The remaining years furnish little that is usually considered as within the scope of history, but a "Centennial History" must come down to 1876.

Yet the political changes of the last ten years furnish quite a study to those who take an interest in partisan warfare. In the fall of 1866, the Democrats having regained sway, Jas. M. Humphrey was reëlected to Congress, and C. R. Durkee was chosen county treasurer. After the census of 1865, Erie county was assigned five members of assembly; those elected in 1866 were C. W. Hinson, Wm. Williams and R. L. Burrows of Buffalo, Alpheus Prince of Newstead, and J. H. Plumb of Collins. In 1867, G. J. Bamler, Richard Flach and L. P. Dayton were elected from Buffalo, Alpheus Prince from Newstead, and James Rider from Sardinia. At the same time, Asher P. Nichols was chosen State senator, Charles Darcy sheriff, Horatio Seymour surrogate, and John H. Andrus, of Evans, county clerk.

In 1868 Erie county went over with a rush to the Republican side, the Grant electoral ticket having a majority of about two thousand. D. S. Bennett was elected congressman, and R. L. Burrows county judge, and Mr. Bass was reëlected district-attorney. The assemblymen were G. J. Bamler, P. H. Bender and J. A. Chase of Buffalo, C. B. Rich; and A. C. Calkins of Hamburg. In 1869 the Republicans still held possession, Loran L. Lewis being elected State senator, and Wm. B. Sirret county treasurer. The assemblymen chosen that year were G. J. Bam-

ler, James Franklin and A. H. Blossom of Buffalo, H. B. Ransom of Grand Island, and Lyman Oatman of Evans.

In 1870 the Democrats rallied and captured all the prizes; Wm. Williams being elected to Congress, Grover Cleveland being chosen sheriff, and J. H. Fisher county clerk. The assemblymen elect were George Chambers, J. Howell and F. A. Alberger of Buffalo, H. B. Ransom of Grand Island, and John M. Wiley of Colden. In these years the proverbial "rooster" flew back and forth from one party to the other with exemplary diligence. In 1871 the Republicans took their turn, reëlecting Mr. Lewis to the senate, and making B. H. Williams district-attorney and Zebulon Ferris surrogate. Nelson K. Hopkins, of Buffalo, was elected State comptroller. The successful candidates for the assembly were George Chambers, George Baltz and F. A. Alberger of Buffalo, John Nice of Grand Island, and J. M. Wiley of Colden.

The year of the Grant and Greeley campaign, the bird of triumph seemed to have come to the Republican side to stay; all the candidates on that side being chosen by majorities of from five to six thousand. Lyman K. Bass was elected member of Congress, and Albert Haight county judge; Mr. Sirret being reëlected county treasurer. The Republicans even elected all of the members of assembly, something that has never been done, before or since, by any party, since the county was divided into assembly districts. This legislative phalanx was composed of John O'Brian, George Baltz and F. A. Alberger of Buffalo, John Nice of Grand Island, and Robert B. Foote of Hamburg. Yet the very next year there was a divided vote, John Ganson, Democrat, being chosen State senator, while J. B. Weber and G. L. Remington, both Republicans, were elected sheriff and county clerk. The majorities were small on both sides. Mr. Hopkins was reëlected comptroller. Messrs. Alberger, Nice and Foote were reëlected to the assembly, their new colleagues being Patrick Hanrahan and Joseph W. Smith.

With one more turn of the wheel, the Democrats had a majority, electing A. P. Laning senator (in place of Mr. Ganson, deceased) and D. N. Lockwood district-attorney. In the State, Wm. Dorsheimer, of Buffalo, was elected lieutenant-governor. Mr. Bass, however, was again elected to Congress. The assemblymen

then chosen were Patrick Hanrahan, W. W. Lawson and E. Gallagher of Buffalo, H. B. Ransom of Grand Island, and W. A. Johnson of Collins. But, if the Democrats thought themselves firmly fixed in control of the county, they were destined to be quickly disappointed, for in 1875 the Republicans obtained a majority of over three thousand five hundred, electing S. S. Rogers State senator, and again reëlecting Mr. Sirret county treasurer. It is evident that the political game need not fail of interest in this county for lack of uncertainty. The assemblymen then chosen (and now in office) were Daniel Cruice, W. W. Lawson and Edward Gallagher of Buffalo, C. F. Tabor of Lancaster, and Bertrand Chaffee of Concord.

The mayors of Buffalo since 1856 have been as follows: Elected in 1857, T. T. Lockwood; in 1859, Franklin A. Alberger; 1861 and '63, Wm. G. Fargo; 1865, C. J. Wells; 1867, Wm. F. Rogers; 1869 and '71, Alexander Brush; 1873, L. P. Dayton; 1875, Philip Becker. The Superior Court of Buffalo had remained intact, consisting of Judges Verplanck, Masten, and Clinton, from 1856 to 1871. In the spring of the latter year, Judge Masten died, and in the succeeding autumn, ex-County Judge Sheldon was elected the full term, which, by an amendment to the constitution, was extended to fourteen years. In 1873 Judge Verplanck died, and James M. Smith was elected. The terms of Supreme Court judges had been fixed at the same period, while county judges and surrogates were to hold six years. All judicial officers chosen since the adoption of the amendment hold for full terms from the time of their election. The judges of the Supreme Court, resident in Erie county, are Charles Daniels, elected to fill the term of Judge Hoyt, deceased, in 1863, and reëlected in 1869, and John L. Talcott, elected in 1869 to fill an unexpired term, and reëlected in 1873.

The following is a list of the supervisors for the last ten years:

Alden, 1866, Bradley Goodyear; 1867, E. R. Hall; 1868, E. R. Ewell; 1869, '70, '71, '72, '73 and '74, Spencer Stone; 1875, Bernhard Wende; 1876, L. W. Cornwell. Amherst, 1866 and '67, Benj. Miller; 1868, '69 and '70, Leonard Dodge; 1871 and '72, M. Snyder; 1873, D. Wherle; 1874, '75 and '76, J. Schoelles. Aurora, 1866, D. C. Corbin; 1867 and '68, P. A. Haynes; 1869 and '70, H. Z. Person; 1871, '72 and '73, Christopher Peek; 1874 and '75, J. P. Bartlett; 1876, Lyman Cornwell. Boston, 1866, A. D. Cary; 1867 and '71, Enos Blanchard; 1868 and '69, T. S. Cary; 1870, Dexter Folsom; 1872, J. H. Fuller; 1873, A.

W. Lockwood; 1874, '75 and '76, A. K. Woodward. Brant, 1866, '67, '70, '71, '72, '73, '75 and '76, Wm. W. Hammond; 1874, H.P. Moffat; 1868 and '69, D. H. Odell.

Buffalo, first ward, 1866, Austin Hanrahan and Geo. Campbell; 1867, A. Hanrahan and Maurice Courtney; 1868, A. Hanrahan and Mathias Ryan; 1869, A. Hanrahan and John Pier; 1870, J. Pier and Edward Mullihan; 1871, J. Pier and John Manning; 1872, Alex. Love and G. G. Smith; 1873, G. G. Smith and Jas. Hanrahan; 1874, Jas. McCarthy and Thos. Quinn; 1875 and '76, John Norris and Jas. Manahar. Second ward, 1866, Hugh Webster and W. G. Seeley; 1867, H. Webster and Z. Bonney; 1868, Z. Bonney and P. J. Ferris; 1869, H Webster and Z. Bonney; 1870 and '71, H. Webster and Albert Haight; 1872, A. Haight and Daniel Post; 1873, '74 and '75, E. R. Saxton and A. L. Lothridge; 1876, E. R. Saxton and J. M. Comstock. Third ward, 1866, Geo. Gehring and J. Baumgarten; 1867, Milton Wilder and Bernard Knor; 1868, M. Wilder and N. Seibert; 1869, J. A. Seymour and W. A. Carney; 1870, John Mahoney and J. V. Hayes; 1871, J. V. Hayes and Anselm Haefner; 1872, J. V. Hayes and G. M. Ruhlman; 1873, Frederick Arend and G. H. Kennedy; 1874, J. G. Streich and Wm. Dolan; 1875, W. W. Buffum and J. G. Streich; 1876, W. W. Buffum and E. W. Evans. Fourth ward, 1866, Thos. Farnham and Geo. M. Kolb; 1867, P. J. Ripont and L. P. Mauer; 1868, A. C. Hudson and F. J. Stephan; 1869, W. S. Ovens and F. C. Fischer; 1870, G. C. Grimard and Ludwig Wilhelm; 1871, L. Wilhelm and F. J. Stephan; 1872, W. W. Lawson and Louis Hesman; 1873, W. W. Lawson and Chas. Person; 1874 and '75, E. Bertrand, Jr., and C. Wagner; 1876, E. Bertrand, Jr., and C. F. Mensch. Fifth ward, 1866, J. S. Irwin and Geo. Baldus; 1867, Henry Fort and John Huels; 1868, C. G. Irish and Chas. Sauer; 1869, Wm. Seymour and Wm. Critchley; 1870 and '71, Wm. Seymour and Caspar J. Drescher; 1872, Wm. Heinrich and Conrad Sieber; 1873, C. Sieber and P. F. Lawson; 1874 and '75, Wm. Seymour and Louis Fritz; 1876, L. Fritz and P. F. Lawson. Sixth ward, 1866 and '68, J. Stengel and J. Himmens; 1867, J. Stengel and J. P. Walter; 1869 and '70, Leopold Mullenhoff and Caspar Meyer; 1871, Adam Wick and A. Lenhart; 1872 and '73, William Scheier and Ernst Billeb; 1874 and '75, Sebastian Elser and Henry Miller; 1876, S. Elser and Michael Loebig. Seventh ward, 1866, John Gisel and Louis Fritz; 1867, J. Gisel and Jacob Bangasser; 1868, J. Bangasser and Henry Hitchler; 1869, Conrad Baer and Henry Schermer; 1870 and '71, C. Baer and Conrad Branner; 1872, Alfred Lyth and Henry Schermer; 1873 and '74, A. Lyth and G. Baer; 1875, G. Baer and M. L. Luke; 1876, G. Baer and Peter Branner. Eighth ward, 1866, Michael Carroll and Samuel M. Baker; 1867, Geo. Weber and Michael Keenan; 1868, M. Keenan and Geo. Gates; 1869, Wm. Fitzgerald and Henry McQuade; 1870, S. McQuade and Daniel Cruice; 1871, B. R. Cole and Robert Wheelan; 1872, Fred. Rigger and Thomas Canfield; 1873, John Manning and Henry Brinkman; 1874, Edw. Lyon and J. K. Wolf; 1875, Timothy Sweeney and John Pfeil; 1876, Timothy Lyons and Jas. E. Nunan. Ninth ward, 1866, Geo. Colt and Elias Green; 1867, A. J. Buckland and D. G. Jackson;

1868, A. J. Buckland and T. W. Toye; 1869, T. W. Toye and E. Green; 1870, E. Green and D. W. Burt; 1871, E. Green and Silas Kingsley; 1872, D. W. Burt and T. W. Toye; 1873, T. W. Toye and E. Green; 1874 and '75, E. D. Berry and W. R. Crumb; 1876, E. D. Berry and Fred. Busch. Tenth ward, 1866, C. E. Young and J. L. Fairchild; 1867, J. L. Fairchild and P. B. Williams; 1868, S. C. Adams and A. J. Davis; 1869, '70 and '72, C. E. Young and Philip Miller; 1871, C.E. Young and S. M. Robinson; 1873, J. A. Gittere and L. P. Beyer; 1874, L. P. Beyer and C. E. Young; 1875 and '76, L. P. Beyer and A. B. Tanner. Eleventh ward, 1866, Wm. Richardson and P. A. Balcom; 1867, P. A. Balcom and James Sheldon; 1868 and '69, P. A. Balcom and Dickinson Gazley; 1870, P. A. Balcom and H. O. Cowing; 1871, A. McLeish and Leonard Hinkley; 1872, A. McLeish and Thomas Thompson; 1873, '74 and '75, Thomas Prowett and Christopher Smith; 1876, T. Prowett and D. Gazley. Twelfth ward, 1866, Robt. Ambrose and J. A. Chase; 1867, G. J. Woelfley and Samuel Eley; 1868, G. J. Woelfley and H. Mochel; 1869, E. R. Jewett and F. Haehn; 1870, Frank Forness and Jacob Smith; 1871, J. Smith and J. Cantillon; 1872, J. Cantillon and Washington Russell; 1873, James Delaney and John Abel; 1874, J. Delaney and W. Russell; 1875, Leonard Eley and J. S. Estel; 1876, L. Eley and Peter Glor. Thirteenth ward, 1866, T. M. Gibbon; 1867, George Orr; 1868, Frank Puetz; 1869 and '70, Wm. Graham; 1871, Wm. Shannon; 1872 and '73, J. J. Coates; 1874, '75 and '76, Edward Corriston.

Cheektowaga, 1866, '67, '68, '69, '70, '71, '72, '73, and '75, E. Selden Ely; 1874, Joseph Duringer; 1876, Pennock Winspear. Clarence, 1866, '67, '68, '69, '70, '71, and '72, Jacob Eschelman; 1873, L. G. Wiltse; 1874, J. O. Magoffin; 1875 and '76, John Krauss. Colden, 1866, '67, '68, '69, '71 and '72, G. W. Nichols; 1870, Stephen Churchill; 1873. Chas. Day; 1874 and '75, D. T. Francis; 1876, R. E. Bowen. Collins, 1866 and '67, J. H. Plumb; 1868, '69 and '70, S. T. White; 1871 and '73, S. A. Sisson; 1872, Z. A. Bartlett; 1874 and '75, J. H. White; 1876, W. A. Johnson. Concord, 1866, '68 and '73, C. C. Severance; 1867 and '69, A. M. Stanbro; 1870 and '71, Bertrand Chaffee; 1872, Frank Chase; 1874 and '75, Erasmus Briggs; 1876, Henry Blackmar. East Hamburg, 1866, Benjamin Baker; 1867, Christopher Hambleton; 1868 and '70, Allen Potter; 1869, N. B. Sprague; 1871, '72, '73, '74 and '76, F. M. Thorne; 1875, A. Freeman. Eden, 1866, '67 and '72, N. Welch; 1868, D. Schweichert; 1869, C. S. Rathbun; 1870 and '71, F. Keller; 1873, L. D. Wood; 1874, '75 and '76, J. H. Lord. Elma, 1866, P. B. Lathrop; 1867, '68, '71, '72 and '73, A. Marvel; 1869 and '70, H. Harris; 1874, '75 and '76, W. Winspear. Evans, 1866, '67, '69, '70 and '75, E. Z. Southwick; 1868, J. Southwick; 1871, '72, '73, '74 and '76, D. C. Oatman. Grand Island, 1866, J. Nice; 1867, '68, '69 and '74, H. B. Ransom; 1870, Levant Ransom; 1871 and '72, J. H. W. Staley; 1873, Sutlief Staley; 1875, C. Spohr; 1876, contested. Hamburg, 1866, '67, '72 and '73, George Pierce; 1868, '69, '70, '71 and '72, Robert C. Titus; 1874, '75 and '76, H. W. White. Holland, 1866, '67, '68, '69, '70, '71 and '73, J. O. Riley; 1872, Perry Dickerman; 1874 and '75, C. A. Orr; 1876, Homer Morey. Lancaster, 1866, F. H. James;

1867, '68, '69, '70, '71, '72, '73, '74, '75 and '76, N. B. Gatchell. Marilla, 1866, H. T. Foster; 1867, '68 and '69, Benjamin Fones; 1870, Whitford Harrington; 1871 and '72, Henry Harrington; 1873, R. H. Miller; 1874, '75 and '76, R. D. Smith. Newstead, 1866, '67, '68, '69, '70, '71 and '72, Marcus Lusk; 1873 and '76, W. T. McGoffin; 1874, D. B. Howe; 1875, H. H. Newton. North Collins, 1866, Thos. Russell; 1867 and '68, Daniel Allen; 1869, '70 and '71, E. W. Godfrey; 1872, '73 and '74, M. Hunter; 1875, C. C. Kirby; 1876, James Matthews. Sardinia, 1866 and '67, Geo. Bigelow; 1868 and '69, Welcome Andrews; 1870, G. C. Martin; 1871 and '72, Roderick Simons; 1873 and '74, Geo. Andrews; 1875 and '76, Addison Wheelock. Tonawanda, 1866, '67, '72 and '73, Fred. Knothe; 1868 and '69, S. G. Johnson; 1870, B. H. Long; 1871, C. Schwinger; 1874, Wm. Kibler; 1875, J. H. De Graff; 1876, Philip Wendell. Wales, 1866, '67, '68 and '69, Alonzo Havens; 1870, Turner Fuller; 1871, Edward Leigh; 1872, '73, '74, '75 and '76, C. N. Brayton. West Seneca, 1866, C. J. James; 1867, '68, '69 and '70, A. P. Pierce; 1871, '72 and '73, Nelson Reed; 1874, '75 and '76, Victor Irr.

Whoever even glances over the foregoing list, and over the similar ones for the last thirty years, cannot but notice the steady growth of German names. To-day the people of that nationality, including the children of the original emigrants, constitute more than a third of the people of the county. In the city of Buffalo they are estimated at sixty thousand; besides which they form nearly the whole population of West Seneca and Cheektowaga, and a large part of that of Tonawanda, Amherst, Lancaster, Alden, Elma, Marilla, Hamburg, Eden, Boston and North Collins—to say nothing of numerous individual residents of other towns, or of the descendants of the "Pennsylvania" Germans, who are numerous in Amherst, Clarence and Newstead. Many of those thus classed, however, were born in America, speak the English language, and differ but little from their American neighbors. The Germans, generally, are about equally divided between Catholics and Protestants.

In Buffalo, numerous institutions peculiar to themselves are supported entirely by the Germans. The earliest of these societies, and in a certain sense the parent of the others, is the German Young Men's Association, organized in 1841. It is especially devoted to literary culture, which it subserves by a well-selected library of over five thousand volumes, in German, by lectures during the winter season, and other similar means. The German musical societies are, of course, numerous, the Liedertafel, the Orpheus society, and the Saengerbund being the

principal. The latter devotes itself particularly to operas, of which it has produced a large number, in a highly creditable manner. It has fifty or sixty active members, and several hundred passive, or contributing members, besides honorary ones. The Liedertafel and Orpheus have the same general object of musical culture, but I did not receive the memoranda I expected in regard to them. The Buffalo Turnverein, a gymnastic society numbering hundreds of members, is also a peculiar German institution, and, with its affiliated societies throughout the country, exercises a strong influence in German circles.

No less than four German daily newspapers are published in Buffalo. Besides the "Demokrat," the establishment of which has been noted, the "Volksfreund" (People's Friend) was established in 1868, and the Freie Presse (Free Press) still earlier. It must be that these are pretty well supported, for a year or two ago still another was added to the list in the "Republikaner" (Republican). There are also three German weeklies, the Aurora, the Tribune and the Herald. It is evident that there is a very large body of reading Germans.

In addition to the English papers before mentioned, the Buffalo Catholic Sentinel, now called the Catholic Union, began its existence in 1853; Buffalo supports two Sunday papers, the News and the Leader; the Niagara River Pilot was established at Tonawanda in the year 1853, by S. O. Hayward, who now publishes the Lake Shore Enterprise in that village; the Erie County Advertiser was founded at Aurora, in 1872; and the Hamburg Independent at Hamburg, in 1875. The Tonawanda Herald and the Gowanda Gazette are published just outside the limits of the county. The only English literary periodical in the county is The Globe, a magazine of three years standing, devoted to the cause of culture and taste.

The immense number of societies of various kinds—Masons, Odd-fellows, Good Templars, Druids, Harugari, etc., etc.—to be found in the county, and especially in the city, forbids any attempt at a detailed account of them. The same reason prevents a description of the two hundred churches within our limits.

Before closing, I would remedy an omission in the list of Erie county congressmen by stating that in 1844 and 1846 Wm. A. Moseley and N. K. Hall were elected to that office.

The census of 1875 shows a population in the county of Erie, of 199,570, of whom 134,573 reside in the city of Buffalo. That city which, even forty years ago, was altogether subordinate to the county at large, now contains two thirds of the population, and exercises an even greater influence.

Seven years ago a law was passed providing for the formation of a great Buffalo Park, and one of four hundred and fifty acres has been purchased. It is only partially improved, but bids fair to be one of the most beautiful resorts in the country. In architecture, as I have said, Buffalo has never been prominent. A building has, however, been erected within the past few years, and is just completed and occupied, which is rightly regarded as an ornament to the city. This is the County and City Hall, which takes the place of the "city buildings," the "old court-house" built in 1816, and the new one erected in 1850.

Among its numerous rooms the most spacious and elegant is the council chamber, which from the third story looks out upon Lake Erie. And there, just as the last types of this history are falling into place, occurs a meeting, marking in the strongest manner the progress of three fourths of a century. Where, within the memory of living men, the Indian chased the wolf, where the still-surviving William Peacock first marked in the forest the streets of the future city, come the profoundest minds of the country, and even of foreign lands, to discuss the weightiest of terrestrial questions, and perchance to advance theories which, when the city they meet in was founded, would have incurred only anathemas or derision. The American Association for the Advancement of Science occupies the Iroquois hunting-ground of seventy-five years ago.

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